

2014

Has the addition of community policing in neighborhoods targeted for revitalization enhanced the community revitalization process - a case study of Des Moines, Iowa from 1966 to 2012

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**Has the addition of community policing in neighborhoods targeted for revitalization
enhanced the community revitalization process - a case study of Des Moines, Iowa from
1966 to 2012**

by

Theodore Lister Stroope

A thesis submitted to the graduate faculty

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF COMMUNITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING

Major: Community and Regional Planning

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Ames, Iowa

2014

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CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION

Community policing and neighborhood revitalization are both concepts that have become popular topics in their respective professions of law enforcement and planning. However, both concepts lack concrete definition. What is neighborhood revitalization? Is it economic development, neighborhood redevelopment, citizen empowerment? Academically there is not a clear definition either. Practically, neighborhood revitalization can be any number of things based on the community and its unique contributing factors. Similarly, community policing is a concept that has taken hold in law enforcement yet lacks concrete definition as well. In fact community policing draws its strength from its lack of a definition. Subject 337450, a tenured executive-level police official addressed the topic bluntly in his interview:

Community policing came to a crisis point nationally because the think tanks, the law enforcement think tanks decided that there had to be a specific definition. They had to define community policing. It was something that was being used to varying degrees around the country, and it was successful. In fact, I was at a police executive research forum meeting with chiefs from all over the country, and several stood up and said, "We've got to define these. We gotta know what it is, and there has to be a framework." And so I listened to this garbage, and I said, "No, you can't do that, and if you do, you'll kill it." (337450, 2013)

Commonly, there is boundless separate literature on neighborhood revitalization and community policing. However, very little literature exists on the topic of the combined forces of these two concepts which share the common goal of community improvement. As a Des Moines Police Officer for nearly ten years, and a lifelong resident, this author has witnessed the fruits of Des Moines' efforts on both fronts as well as their programmatic evolution through the eyes of a citizen, and for a decade as an employee. In exploring their

relationship it was discovered that there was a lack of material. Furthermore, it was realized that Des Moines' storied history with both programs created a prime environment to do a case study on the relationship between the two programs and whether or not the relationship is beneficial. This study will address that question through a comprehensive historical review accompanied by a qualitative analysis of human subject research consisting of interviews with planning and police officials in Des Moines.

Research Goals and Questions

During a 2011 client study for the City of Des Moines, I was immersed in Des Moines' neighborhood revitalization and community policing programs to an extent even further than I could imagine as a (at the time) 7-year veteran of the Des Moines police force. In developing a narrative history of the program(s), the ideas for what would become the research goals of this study were formulated. It was noted that although functionally separate, the programs shared a common history and goal. Des Moines held potential as an example for municipalities around the country, as well as for itself in the discovery of the value of this partnership, however formal or informal it had been over the years. The research goals then became:

1. To flesh out whether community policing and neighborhood revitalization had been intentional partners
2. Whether community policing and neighborhood revitalization shared a common goal formally or informally
3. Whether or not the collusion of community policing and neighborhood revitalization was valuable to the overall revitalization goal

The knowledge gained from answering these questions will allow the city of Des Moines to learn from itself and could inform future planning efforts in Des Moines and the rest of the country. Many cities around the country have instituted similar programs to Des Moines on varying scales, demonstrating recognition that there is both a demand for such programs, and recognition of their value. However, an informed refinement in the way the programs work together would be invaluable to existing programs as well as developing future programs.

Research Approach

In approaching this research problem, it was important to decide which method to use to analyze the relationships. After the research question was narrowed down and the time period identified, the data available was explored in order to focus the approach. Also, the efforts in the 2011 study could serve as a guide for the best method to achieve valid, explanatory results.

Even a cursory review of Des Moines' community policing programs and neighborhood revitalization efforts will reveal that a quantitative research approach is unlikely to offer results that adequately explain the relationship or level of function in each program. Although the Model Cities program and CDBG programs require substantial federal reporting, navigating the city reports will still lead to incomplete results as programs were renamed, cancelled, expanded, retracted, etc. due to any number of externalities. One of the reasons the federal government effectively made policing impossible to justify CDBG funds for was the impossibility of truly justifying through qualitative means that

community policing was impacting crime statistics in targeted areas. Crime has so many externalities as well that affect where crime occurs and how, statistics are an incomplete view of the true nature of crime.

Considering these problems with the type of data available, it became clear that a qualitative approach was the appropriate method to analyze the programs and their relationships. A historical review of the programs using city records, media accounts, and government sources would comprise the non-human subject portion of the research. The other component of the data would be human subject research consisting of interviews.

Assumptions

When considering the research question, a number of assumptions were in place. First, it was assumed each program had a greater level of knowledge and understanding of the participant's opposite program than the data came to reflect. In other words, it was assumed the police had a much greater understanding of the neighborhood revitalization efforts and conversely that the planners understood much more about the community policing program. In doing so, the line of questioning provided a great degree of latitude in allowing the participants to explain the depth of their knowledge. When participants were lacking in knowledge, it allowed exploration of the reasons for this.

Second, it was assumed executive-level participants would give the best "value" in data collection. The assumption was that executives in municipal government, particularly the Police Department, have to work their way up through the ranks, oftentimes spending time in a program more than once, but at differing levels and with ever-increasing levels of

responsibility and scope. The problem with this assumption was due to any number of factors. Some of the executives had disconnected from the core values of the program, i.e. the “day to day” functions, and thus distancing themselves from that street-level knowledge that the line-level workers could have given. Because of their distance from the bottom, the executives tended to see the political and programmatic challenges to their programs, problems that were existential but were more or less big-picture. It is believed line-level participants would have opened a window into the problems that were structural and affected the end-users and their ability to effectively conduct their business and achieve their goals.

Third, it was assumed that the interviewer’s status as a peer would remove some of the tension associated with the interview process and the associated fears people have about a perceived critique of their work. Although the participants were public officials speaking about their public work, there is inevitably a nervousness surrounding a research process structured like this study. Municipal government programs live and die by funding and public perception and the possibility of a negative review is always in the back of an employee’s mind. Furthermore, an employee who is passionate about their work can take personal affront to criticism leveled at their program. Therefore, working to allay those fears turned out to be much more difficult than expected for some participants despite the co-worker status. One interview in particular the participant seemed reluctantly agreeable. He seemed unsure that he could provide useful information despite his work experience and assurances that he had been recruited as a participant precisely for that reason. As the interview began, his answers were shorter and he leaned back in his chair, arms and feet

crossed, with a nervous twinge in his voice. As the interview progressed, it became evident that he was beginning to believe that answers were being sought to questions he could answer with authority. By the time the halfway point was reached, he was leaning forward, arms on his knees, gesturing with his hands as he talked. His passion for his work became evident and began showing in the language of his answers as well. This scenario would replay itself several more times which was not expected at all. It is believed the same interpersonal relationships that granted access to these individuals that others may not have had would insert comfort into the interview process; an assumption which was clearly incorrect.

Finally, it was assumed that the research goal would be apparent to the participants. Many of them had been involved with a 2011 program review of NBSD which the city had commissioned the fall 2011 Community and Regional Planning Graduate Studio class to conduct. I was in that class and had already interviewed several of the participants for that study and it is believe this led to a willing participation and a greater-than-entry level of understanding of the research topic by most participants. However, because that 2011 study was a program review, it is believed that tying it to this study led to a somewhat negative connotation by the interviewees. Although this research is a case study of the relationship between the community policing and neighborhood revitalization programs in Des Moines, it is feared that some participants may have seen it as another program review conducted on a different scale.

The identification of assumptions is important in contextualizing research and informing the outcomes. Most importantly, the assumptions must be explored to insure that the assumptions have not affected the outcomes in a way that compromises the validity of the research. It is believed this has been avoided. Recognizing the role assumptions can play helped me maintain my role as researcher during the interview process. Often, participants would say things and search for agreement on my part as a fellow employee. Because it is acknowledged how influential the interviewer can be in the research process, there was a concerted effort to remain neutral and un-opinionated during interviews and the participants were often reminded that the interaction was to remain unbiased in every way. It was also recognized that those interactions were unavoidable yet also indispensable as it is believed that access would not have been possible were it not for the peer position of the interviewer.

Research Perspective

Major influences on choosing this topic for research are as follows:

- Time spent as a firefighter in Kansas led to a career choice focused on public safety while an undergraduate at Kansas State University
- It was felt that a graduate degree should be relevant to an undergraduate degree in Construction Science and Management as well as experience in the law enforcement profession
- Participation in a graduate planning studio course which had secured a contract to conduct a program review of Des Moines' Neighborhood Based Service Delivery program provided a link between the community policing and neighborhood revitalization efforts.
- Because police work requires being a skilled interviewer, it was felt that this skill would be well-suited to conducting a qualitative review of this research topic.

Because of the aforementioned influences, one of the difficulties in my research role has been to not approach the research as something I already believe and am on a mission to prove. In fact, that was one of the larger obstacles in landing on a hypothesis. Also, I had to be very cognizant of the influence personal and professional relationships could have on my ability to gather data. In many cases however, my position with the city allowed me access that I don't think an outsider would have been able to attain as easily. Status as a coworker allowed participants to be recruited without skepticism on their part. This lack of skepticism was also due in part to their positive experience with the 2011 study.

Among Police Officers, community policing can be viewed with skepticism. The old-timers argue that community policing had been in place when staffing meant that an officer never left his/her assigned area or "beat" and thus became intimately familiar with his/her neighborhoods and residents. Through this research not only an appreciation for the Community Policing model been gained, but also an enhanced appreciation for the revitalization goals of the city as well. A testament to the city's community policing efforts was never more evident than in the summer of 2013 when the department had two officer-involved shootings in the span of three days, one involving an unarmed suspect. The incidents passed with nary a word of outcry from the citizenry due to the level of communication the police department has with neighborhood and civic groups that led to questions being answered on a personal level, and not the usual public back and forth through the media.

CHAPTER II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

Community policing and neighborhood revitalization are programs that are applied by a wide range of communities throughout the country. In some cases one, both, or a combination of the programs is applied. Rohe, Adams, & Arcury (2001) state:

The goals and methods of community policing are similar to those of community development planning. Both activities are designed to create stable, healthy neighborhoods, and both seek to involve community residents in improvement efforts. (Rohe, Adams, & Arcury, 2001, p. 78)

This chapter will illustrate the relationships that have developed in communities across the country between Community Development or Neighborhood Revitalization programs, and Community Policing programs. It will also demonstrate the varying levels of resource commitment and program implementation relative to the Neighborhood Based Service Delivery Program currently in place in Des Moines, Iowa.

Community Policing Programs - An Introduction

Community Policing "...is now seen almost universally as the most effective method for improving police-community relations. Proponents also believe that it will ultimately prove to be an effective crime control strategy." (Cordner, 1995, p. 1) Almost twenty years after Cordner's statement, Community Policing has taken hold as an effective crime control strategy and has been adopted by many police departments nationwide. The true extent of community policing's implementation in departments nationwide is difficult to accurately gauge because community policing is not accurately defined or instituted as competing policing models like StatComp.

Accurately defining Community Policing is a problem that has plagued the concept since its adoption. Some would argue further that “Community Policing is a philosophy, not a program.” (Cordner, 1995, p. 1) Skogan and Hartnett (1997) say community policing:

Involves reforming decision-making processes and creating new cultures within police departments: it is not a packet of specific tactical plans....It assumes a commitment to broadly focused, problem-oriented policing and requires that police be responsive to citizens’ demands when they decide what local problems are and set their priorities. (p. 5)

Because there is no accepted definition of community policing, the adoption of a community policing program is left to be defined by the community implementing it. However this is also one of the strengths of community policing. Subject 337450, a Law Enforcement official who was able to witness the rise of community policing, made a pointed observation about the problem of defining community policing.

Community policing came to a crisis point nationally because the think tanks, the law enforcement think tanks decided that there had to be a specific definition. They had to define community policing. It was something that was being used to varying degrees around the country, and it was successful. In fact, I was at a police executive research forum meeting with chiefs from all over the country, and several stood up and said, “We’ve got to define these. We gotta know what it is, and there has to be a framework.” And so I listened to this garbage, and I said, “No, you can’t do that, and if you do, you’ll kill it.” Because community policing in Detroit, Michigan, is not going to be community policing in Kansas City, Missouri. The beauty of community policing is you adapt it to your community and its demographics, and it’s going to vary depending on the numbers of minorities or diverse population that you serve and their needs. So don’t try to come up with a set of rules that say there’s one size fits all, and then what would happen after that is all the federal money that flowed to support these initiatives would only go to those cities with the big demographics. (337450, 2013)

By recognizing that communities have different needs, even within a corporate municipal boundary, the program is uniquely tailored to the community in which it serves. The importance of tailoring the program to the community was suggested as early as 1967 when stated in The President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and Justice Task Force Report:

The Police (1967) “the task of building strong police-community relations is different with each population group.” By adopting the community policing theory, a police department has acknowledged the idea that there are community-specific problems it can then learn about and focus on as these unique problems arise. The police department has also then communicated its values to the citizenry by adopting this policing style. As Wasserman and Moore (1988) write:

Policing styles reflect a department’s values. A police agency that independently adopts an aggressive tactical orientation has a far different set of values than a police agency that carefully engages neighborhood residents in planning for crime control activities (Wasserman & Moore, 1988, p. 3)

Although no hard definition exists, there is widespread agreement on the major tenets of the program. Bayley and Shearing (1996) state “Its philosophy is straightforward: the police cannot successfully prevent or investigate crime without the willing participation of the public, therefore police should transform communities from being passive consumers of police protection to active co-producers of public safety.” (Bayley & Shearing, 1996, p. 588) A contemporary and succinct example of this philosophy in action is the description the city of Boise, Idaho lists as the general goals of their Community Oriented Policing program:

- Maintain or increase public confidence in the Police Department.
- Decrease fear of crime.
- Listen to and address citizen concerns.
- Bring community resources together to solve problems.
- Impact specific crime problems.
- Reduce repetitive calls for service.
- Educate the public about its Police Department.

(City of Boise, ID, 2013)

Rohe, Adams & Arcury conceptualize Community Policing at three distinct levels: the philosophical level, the program level, and the activity level. (Rohe, Adams, & Arcury, 2001)

At the philosophical level, there are three key principles: (1) shared responsibility for community safety, (2) crime prevention, and (3) officer discretion in the performance of police duties. "The community policing philosophy stresses that the responsibility for the maintenance of order in a community must be shared by both the police and the members of that community." (Rohe, Adams, & Arcury, 2001, p. 79)

At the program level:

...there is no single model for how community policing programs are run. A police department that adopts community policing typically designs a program that suits its unique local circumstances. Most departments, however, begin by creating separate community policing units that target one or more high-crime housing developments or neighborhoods. In many instances these are the same communities that housing and community development planners have targeted for revitalization. (Rohe, Adams, & Arcury, 2001, p. 79)

At the activity level "...community policing involves a wide range of actions that are limited only by the creativity of the officers involved." (Rohe, Adams, & Arcury, 2001, p. 80)

Community policing officers are involved in an array of activities. Maguire (1997) describes officers assigned specifically to community policing efforts as "... 'uniformed generalists' well versed in dealing with a variety of social problems." (Maguire, 1997, p. 559) They may make visits for follow-ups on complaints reported on other shifts, attend neighborhood meetings, and attend neighborhood or community functions such as National Night Out. Many times, the community policing officer is the conduit for problems that aren't the purview of the police department; due to their accessibility they become the *de facto*

messengers for the city. During the interview with Subject 002900, a top-level police official, he was asked why he believes police officers naturally assume this role.

Interviewer: Through this project and a couple other research projects, one thing we always hear is that the community police officer is – ends up being kind of a jack-of-all-trades. Why is it always a police officer? Why couldn't your neighborhood zoning inspector be that guy, or why couldn't your – I mean you name it from any other city department. Why is it always the police officers that fill this role?

002900: This is going to sound selfish, but by nature, police officers at all ranks are in the problem solving business, and they generally take care of business in very short order. As a beat officer, senior police officer Theodore Stroope gets tripped out on whatever the dispute is. You're not leaving that house until you've taken care of that issue because if you do leave without taking care of the issue, what happens?

Interviewer: Called back.

002900: You get called back, and you don't want to continue to be called back for the same issue. Police officers are in the problem solving business just by virtue of their profession. People call with issues. We go to resolve them. We move onto the next issue. If you look in government as a whole, in my opinion, nobody is more efficient in the problem solving business than police officers because they do it all day, every day, and it's a 24/7 operation. Zoning department at city hall, that number doesn't get answered at 3:00 in the morning. So it's incumbent on the police officer responding to something to resolve that issue and take care of business at that point in time in very short order, and they move on to the next problem. It's just by virtue of their assignment, police officers are very well versed in conflict resolution and problem solving.

Although lacking a clear definition, I believe a clear understanding exists within the police community as to what constitutes community policing. Furthermore, the scale to which community policing implementation varies depends on the needs of the individual communities and the resources of the departments. To illustrate the range of program implementation in this paper, a synopsis of programs from around the country will be included.

Neighborhood Revitalization Programs - An Introduction

In the early part of the 20th century, there was a clear lack of comprehensive planning in large municipalities throughout the United States. In 1923, Clarence Perry presented his “neighborhood unit formula”. (Rohe, 2009) Perry lived in the famous Forest Hills Garden neighborhood of Queens, New York, and was influenced by his surroundings as well as the planners of the day. Perry’s main focus was new developments but he noted that his formula could be applied to “...central deteriorated sections, large enough and sufficiently blighted to warrant reconstruction.” (Perry, 1939, p. 96) When the post-WWII housing boom began, the central business districts (CBD’s) of most cities had suffered a severe deterioration of their housing stock and infrastructure, areas described above by Perry that could benefit from the application of his formula. Perry’s neighborhood unit formula informed planning on several fronts. Mumford (1954) explains the theory’s influence:

...the result was to change the basic unit of planning from the city-block or the avenue, to the more complex unit of the neighborhood, a change that demanded a reapportionment of space for avenues and domestic dwellings: in short, a new generalized urban pattern. (Mumford, 1954, p. 260)

More important to this study, the neighborhood unit formula introduced the idea that physical design of communities could help address social problems. Jacobs (1961) devotes an entire chapter to the importance of physical design in communities and their social ramifications titled “The need for small blocks”.

The flood of returning veterans from World War II saw urban flight increase at a torrential rate. Not only were central city urban areas beginning to become dilapidated,

builders were able to attract the veterans to the suburbs with the lure of new construction financed by Federal Housing Administration (FHA) and Veterans Administration (VA) loans. A myriad of factors contributed to the dilapidation of the central city, but many were the result of the ill-fated concept of slum removal. In September 1937, the United States Housing Act (also known as Wagner-Steagall) was signed and thus marked the first time the federal government took responsibility for providing decent, low cost housing. (Jackson, 1985) Jackson (1985) cites the New York Times proclaiming "With the President's signature the Wagner-Steagall bill becomes law and at last America makes a real start toward wiping out its city slums." (Jackson, 1985, p. 244) The major contributing factor of Wagner-Steagall to central city decline was the voluntary nature of the program. The program was made voluntary in response to 1935 decision by Federal Judge Charles I. Dawson that ruled against the use of eminent domain for public housing. To ameliorate the law in the face of the Dawson ruling, municipalities were not required to participate; rather they self-identified a need and applied for federal housing assistance. Therefore, most suburbs declined participation in order to prevent public housing from being built within their borders. Meanwhile, central cities with a clear demand for housing applied, but were forced to keep the public housing within their borders, reinforcing segregation and in some cases creating a disincentive for communities where social and racial biases meant the maintenance of dilapidation was the lesser evil to providing housing which would facilitate integration. Another exacerbating feature was the requirement that one slum unit be eliminated for every public housing unit created. (Jackson, 1985) The result of this requirement was public housing was confined to existing slums in a scheme of direct

replacement. By the time the 1949 Housing Act was passed which authorized the federal urban renewal program, 27 states had enacted legislation giving cities key powers such as eminent domain and the ability to designate and acquire blighted areas. (Rohe, 2009) Title I of the 1949 Housing act was supposed to reconcile the differences amongst the housing activists, downtown interests, developers, etc. by simultaneously improving living conditions for the poor while also helping central cities compete with their suburbs. In the end, the two goals were conflicting as concentrations of low-to-moderate housing did little to spur economic investment in central cities or change suburban dweller perceptions of the downtown condition. In 1954, congress passed another Housing Act that authorized the use of federal funds for the rehabilitation of housing and neighborhoods and special allocations for public housing for citizens displaced by urban renewal projects. (Rohe, 2009) Also included in the 1954 Housing Act were provisions that were arguably the conceptual basis for the programs that were to succeed. Rohe (2009) states “Of particular importance to the planning profession the 1954 Act also required that cities have a ‘workable program for community improvement’ before federal redevelopment funds would be provided.” (Rohe, 2009, p. 213) Moreover, the Act provided grants to assist cities in developing their workable programs. Among other things, the workable programs required development of comprehensive plans, conduction of neighborhood analyses, development of effective administration capacity for local planning, and gaining citizen support and involvement in designing urban revitalization projects. (Rohe, 2009)

Urban renewal programs of the late 1940’s through the 1950’s relied on physical solutions to social problems. Several criticisms arose from the programs which relied mostly

on razing low-income housing and replacing the projects with middle-to-upper income housing and commercial redevelopment. Among the criticisms was the unfairness of the program to minorities by targeting their neighborhoods for redevelopment at a disproportionate rate. As Rohe (2009) puts it "...the program was also accused of facilitating 'Negro removal'." (Rohe, 2009, p. 214) Sanders (1980) observed that fifty-eight percent of the almost 300,000 families displaced by urban renewal programs were Black. Despite the requirements that there be a one-for-one replacement ration, Halpern (1995) estimates that four units of low-income housing were demolished for every one that was built. Urban renewal also received criticism for over-emphasizing the role of physical solutions to social problems.

By the early 1960's, the realization that Urban Renewal was not performing as planned spurred the need for a different approach. The Community Action Program (CAP) and the Model Cities Program were developed to address the shortcomings of Urban Renewal. There were two major things that were included in the programs to directly address the failures of Urban Renewal. First, citizen involvement was sought in the design and implementation of neighborhood improvement programs. Second, brick-and-mortar solutions were de-emphasized and were replaced by comprehensive revitalization plans that targeted communities. This would include coordination of federal assistance (usually monetary) at the local level to maximize the impact.

CAP was authorized by the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964 which also created the Office of Economic Opportunity. Through the newly created Office of Economic

Opportunity, federal funding was provided directly to Community Action Agencies (CAAs) at the local level. Since there was no city control over CAA money, politics made the Office of Economic Opportunity short-lived. An amendment was passed granting cities the right to take over CAAs but by 1971, President Nixon had abolished the Office of Economic Opportunity along with many programs and transferred what was left to the Community Services Administration. (Rohe, 2009)

The Model Cities Program incorporated the community action principles, but sought to avoid the problems and conflict that plagued the CAP program. President Johnson's Task Force on urban Problems forwarded recommendations that would become the basis for the Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966. Des Moines, Iowa was in the first group of cities selected to participate. For this study, the Model Cities Program marks the beginning of true neighborhood revitalization in Des Moines. Therefore, the evolution of neighborhood revitalization from 1966 forward will be expanded upon in Chapter 4.

Although the evolution of the programs will be expanded upon in future chapters, this section and its predecessor serve to lay the groundwork for understanding the concepts that led to Des Moines' current programs. Furthermore, the study of their eventual convergence will be explained in detail in the following chapters. Before expanding upon these individual points, it is prudent to discuss the contemporary relationships among the programs in Des Moines.

The relationship between Community Policing and Neighborhood Revitalization in Des Moines

In Des Moines, Iowa, a combination of the community policing and neighborhood revitalization programs is applied through the institution of the Neighborhood Based Service Delivery (NBSD) program. In this program, neighborhood revitalization is run and applied independently through the city's Neighborhood Revitalization Program (NRP). However, NBSD applies the full strength of the separate city agencies in a concentrated effort to bolster the revitalization efforts before, during, and after the implementation of a plan. Moreover, the police department has an entire unit of officers assigned to the NBSD effort. Some neighborhoods have a Sergeant or Officer assigned directly to them and the unit commander is responsible for handling or delegating any problems in the neighborhoods without a specifically assigned officer. Effectively, the entire city has access to the police department's NBSD efforts regardless of their status with the Neighborhood Revitalization Program. The intention of Neighborhood Based Service Delivery is to provide a program "designed to revitalize and stabilize distressed/transitional neighborhoods by creating a service delivery partnership between citizens and city staff." (City of Des Moines, 1999) To do so would bring "personnel from the Police Department, Community Development, the Fire Department, Parks and Recreation, Housing Services, Public Works, Des Moines Water Works, and the Des Moines School System..." (City of Des Moines, 1999) and the City Manager's office to bear on the above stated goal of neighborhood revitalization and stabilization.

Although Des Moines' program is unique and considered a model program in the country, subject 620060, a senior official in Des Moines' Community Development department states Des Moines' NBSD program was modeled off of Minneapolis, Minnesota's Neighborhood Revitalization Program (NRP). (620060, 2013) Minnesota's NRP is:

...an innovative program started in 1990 to make the city's residential areas better places to live, work, learn and play... NRP emerged as a response to growing concerns in the mid-to-late 1980s regarding growing blight, crime, the decline of the public schools, and the flight of the city's middle class to Minneapolis's suburbs. In 1990 the Minnesota state legislature and the city council established the NRP and dedicated \$20 million a year for twenty years to fund its activities in the city's eighty-one neighborhoods....Citizen empowerment through neighborhood-based planning is at the heart of NRP.

Neighborhood residents organize and work with others, for example, businesses and government, to identify needs, set priorities, identify resources, and implement solutions to enhance the city's livability. (Teamworks, 2000)

Minneapolis' model included Community Policing as an integral part of the program from the outset. Police officers attended neighborhood meetings and extolled the virtues of enhanced lighting, traffic calming installations, and the formation of neighborhood watch programs. A concurrent review of Minneapolis' program will show distinct similarities to Des Moines' NBSD. However, Des Moines can trace its NRP and community policing history as far back as 1966 when the city was among the first five cities nationwide to be selected to participate in the Model Cities program. (Schechter, 2011) The city transitioned its NRP and Community Policing programs several times throughout the time period of 1966-1998, landing eventually with NBSD in 1999.

A review of select Community Policing and Neighborhood Planning partnerships (or lack of) nationwide

The working relationship between Des Moines' Community Policing and Neighborhood Revitalization programs is unique in its scope, but is somewhat common in its idea. Several examples can be found in municipalities around the US, and in many cases, worldwide. As stated in the literature, both community policing and neighborhood revitalization operate on the premise that unique areas have unique problems and therefore programs aren't necessarily interchangeable between municipalities. Below is a selection of cities from across the United States and their various approaches to partnering community policing and neighborhood revitalization in varying degrees. Some municipalities have a strong partnership in the spirit of Des Moines' NBSD, some focus solely on planning, and some solely on police. It should also be noted that the resource needs of both programs are a significant factor in their implementation and therefore the observation is made that programs such as Des Moines' tend to be concentrated in municipalities of roughly 80,000 or more.

The programs listed below are listed systematically by the level of involvement each municipality has achieved. Tacoma, WA and Boise, ID are what I consider "best practices" among the group. Tacoma's program is the result of Des Moines' NBSD champion and former City Manager Eric Anderson having taken the job as Tacoma's City Manager and instituting a similar program there. Salem, OR and Rochester, NY are examples of a vibrant neighborhood revitalization process but lack the strong community policing involvement that Des Moines, Tacoma, and Boise have displayed. Berkeley, CA, and Madison, WI are two

examples of cities with programs similar to NBSD but appear to be focused on quality of life issues and are reactionary to citizen feedback, much like the police and inspections side of NBSD. The device Berkeley and Madison appear to be lacking is the strong parallel involvement of neighborhood revitalization planning. Lastly, Monrovia, CA is an example of a small municipality that has found ways to implement a community police presence and revitalization program almost entirely through facilitation. Monrovia is an example of a municipality that has made the effort to implement the two programs without having the labor resources to dedicate that larger municipalities have.

These programs were chosen as examples because they offer not only examples of program implementation throughout the country, but they also offer examples of program implementation in relation to resource availability. As will be discussed further in the analysis portion of this paper, one of the themes arrived upon was “Resource allocations versus goals is a factor for both programs.” Although collaboration in the form seen in Des Moines, Tacoma, and Boise is ideal, the pragmatic planner must recognize that resources may not always allow for such an approach. Therefore, the best examples are given here first, followed by examples of communities that are trying to make things work with what they have. Specifically, municipalities with smaller populations may never have the resources to full commit to either program, but they may find ways to implement one or both of the programs in a creative way.

Best Practices: Tacoma, WA and Boise, ID

Tacoma, WA - Community Based Services Program

Des Moines' former city manager Eric Anderson left Des Moines for Tacoma, Washington, a city of approximately 200,000 residents. NBSD was Eric Anderson's brainchild in Des Moines and it is likely he transported the idea with him to Tacoma. In Tacoma the acronym for their program is Community Based Services (CBS) but the composition is nearly identical to Des Moines' Neighborhood Based Service Delivery. The mission statement on Tacoma's website for CBS lays out a program philosophy that could be copied and pasted to Des Moines' without any suspicion:

Community Based Services (CBS) works to facilitate safe, clean and attractive neighborhoods through sustainable and coproduced partnerships with citizens and neighborhood groups. City services are aligned with community priorities and citizens are actively engaged in the maintenance, enjoyment, and improvement of their neighborhoods. (City of Tacoma, WA, 2013)

Tacoma's CBS teams are available to attend community meetings and assist with problems as needed. Tacoma has eight neighborhood councils that predate the CBS program. Another aspect of Tacoma's CBS that mirrors Des Moines' program is the specialization of a police unit specifically for Community Policing efforts. Under the Operations Bureau, there is the Patrol Division which is responsible for day-to-day police calls and patrol. Separately within the Operations Bureau, there is a Community Policing Division which is "...responsible for handling neighborhood and business concerns which require extra time and effort by our Community Liaison Officers and Detectives." (City of Tacoma, WA, 2013) This structure is identical to Des Moines' Operations Bureau which has separate Patrol and Community Policing Divisions within the Operations Bureau as well as identical responsibilities.

Outwardly it appears that Tacoma's community policing program and neighborhood revitalization programs have a similar working relationship. Although the police department

is beholden to all of the citizens of Tacoma, they have the ability to focus on and bolster relationships in certain areas of the city. If those areas are participating in a revitalization program, then the focused attention and enforcement can buttress the expected outcome of the revitalization process.

Boise, ID - Geographic Area Planning

Boise, Idaho is another great example of a community that has a revitalization program and a coexisting, dedicated community policing program. Boise communicates about planning initiatives through a program called Geographic Area Planning. Planners from each planning workgroup are assigned geographic areas of the city.

Planners become familiar with the neighborhood associations and the unique issues facing the area. Planners assist the neighborhoods in understanding development applications, interpreting Blueprint Boise (the City's Comprehensive Plan), and in developing neighborhood plans. GAP planners also participate in Neighborhood Night Out and other neighborhood events. (City of Boise, ID, 2013)

Boise has 36 registered neighborhood groups with which to work. The police department has also structured itself similar to Des Moines with a dedicated group of officers that are assigned to certain neighborhoods. In Boise's case, the officers are assigned a zone containing a cluster of neighborhoods. In contrast, Des Moines' officers are split; some have one neighborhood, others have several. Additionally, Boise has roving officers that presumably fill in or take care of areas without an assigned officer. Boise calls these dedicated police personnel Neighborhood Contact Officers (NCO's) and lists their responsibilities as:

Assigned into specific beat areas and coordinate the Neighborhood Service Teams to work with neighborhood groups. Focus is on problem solving in

the neighborhoods and manage long term projects such as Crime Free Multi-Housing. (City of Boise, ID, 2013)

Boise PD has adopted Community Policing as an organizational strategy as well as a philosophy that is intended to inform their total policing effort. Boise is an excellent example of a community where focused planning and revitalization efforts are institutionalized along with a neighborhood-focused community policing program. Boise has set their residents up for the highest potential for the two programs to enhance the overall outcome.

Vibrant Neighborhood Revitalization without a strong Community Policing Presence: Salem, OR and Rochester, NY

Salem, OR - Neighborhood Partnership Program

Salem, Oregon is comparable in several ways to Des Moines. Salem is the capital city of the state of Oregon yet is a relatively small municipality having a population of roughly 157,000. Salem runs a program very similar to Des Moines' NBSD called the Neighborhood Partnership Program (NPP). In 1997, the city noticed that one particular area of the city, the South East Salem Neighborhood Association (SESNA), was taking up a disproportionate amount of city resources. The area was responsible of fully one-third of the compliance office's time. Furthermore, the city was experiencing a downward trend in crime whilst SESNA was experiencing a crime increase. (City of Salem, OR, 2012) In response, the South East Salem Neighborhood Partnership Program was started and became a success. In 2001 the program was replicated in the Highland neighborhood. As the program expanded to other neighborhoods, the city decided to restructure the program in 2011 to a "rotating partnership model". (City of Salem, OR, 2012) Now the program can re-evaluate the amount

of time and resources spent in a neighborhood and decide whether to move on to another neighborhood. This allows the program to touch more areas of the city without compromising the budget. The Salem NPP uses all city agencies to further the agenda of the program. However, it does not appear that the Salem police department has dedicated officers to the program as Des Moines has; rather it seems Salem focuses on crime prevention city wide. Des Moines also has yet to successfully “rotate” their program as Salem has begun to do, despite originally intending to do so.

Rochester, NY - Neighbors Building Neighborhoods

Rochester, New York is a city of nearly 211,000 that sits on the southern shore of Lake Ontario. In 1994, the city elected Bill Johnson as Mayor, and his first major initiative was the Neighbors Building Neighborhoods (NBN) program. Using citizen input for boundaries, the city was organized into ten geographical sectors for planning purposes. The neighborhoods were then given the freedom to form their own neighborhood plans. However, the city only funded NBN to include administrative costs; it is up to the citizens to find funding for projects and wish lists. City staff attends neighborhood meetings as a resource but do not lead the meetings. One of the unique tools the city has provided NBN is the NeighborLink computer network which gives citizens access to a secure network of emails, file sharing, GIS databases, and other tools from the city. Much like Des Moines’ NBSD program, initial inquiries into the needs of the citizenry brought quality of life issues to the forefront; As a result, the Neighborhood Empowerment Teams (NET) was formed. The NET were to address:

... trash pickups, building code violations, and the like, which related to police issues like drug houses and petty crime. The result was the creation of Neighborhood Empowerment Teams of police, citizens, and city code inspectors to strictly enforce regulations against nuisances such as graffiti, unmowed lawns, vehicles parked in yards, poorly maintained exteriors, excessive noise, and illegal drug sales -- problems that tend to foster further undesirable activity if not controlled. (Favro, 2006)

Through NBN, neighborhoods have been able to spur reinvestment, and secure the means to revitalize their neighborhoods in a manner they see fit. NBN reads much like Des Moines' NBSD program. Although initially formed to facilitate revitalization, there are now separate functions that work in harmony; the core NBN addresses revitalization while the NET addresses quality of life issues that affect revitalization plans. The main difference between NBN and NBSD is NBN was formed from the outset to help the entire city whereas NBSD was initially focused on five neighborhoods and then grew to serve the entire city.

Strong Enforcement and Quality of Life focus: Berkeley, CA and Madison, WI

Berkeley, CA - Neighborhood Services Teams

Berkeley, California is a smaller municipality of roughly 115,000 on the east shore of San Francisco Bay in northern California. Berkeley has a unit called Neighborhood Services that works directly out of the City Manager's office. According to the city website, Neighborhood Services:

...is dedicated to working on the problems in the community that require teamwork and coordination across City departments. The Neighborhood Services team brings together people from different City departments to handle citizen complaints and other problems that affect the quality of life in Berkeley. While most of the work of the Neighborhood Services unit comes from referrals from the City Council, City departments, residents and businesses, we also try to identify emerging problems before they become more serious. Experience has shown that by working with residents to resolve seemingly small problems, we can improve life in every neighborhood. (City of Berkeley, CA, 2013)

Berkeley has no formal neighborhood organizations but has relegated its Neighborhood Services teams to operate within three city-defined geographic areas of the city; Downtown, Telegraph/Southside, and South and West Berkeley. Additionally, two more teams, the Problem Properties and Neighborhood Services Teams, work citywide. The police department also has no dedicated community policing division rather, the beat officers are expected to do community policing functions during their shift. Despite lacking dedicated officers, the police department has representatives on the Neighborhood Services Teams.

Madison, WI - Neighborhood Resource Teams

Madison, Wisconsin's program, Neighborhood Resource Teams (NRT) was formed in 1992 to "better coordinate city services within 10 smaller areas of the city." (City of Madison, WI, 2013) As part of the programs intention, the NRT's were to "...be a resource to residents, not a substitute for neighborhood initiatives and leadership" (City of Madison, WI, 2013) Much like Des Moines, Madison wanted the programs to be neighborhood driven with heavy citizen involvement. Neighborhood Resource Teams have since endured three rounds of restructuring with each election of a new mayor. First in 2000, NRT expanded to the entire city in geographic areas containing 20-25,000 people whilst retaining the original core of the program. In 2007 the boundaries were restructured to more closely follow the police district lines. In 2010, the program was scaled back down to nine neighborhoods but the scope of available services to those neighborhoods was expanded.

It appears that Madison's NRT is similar in mission to the original mission of Des Moines' NBSD in that it was formed to enhance service delivery of core city services to

neighborhoods. However, the extent to which Madison's NRT collaborates with their Neighborhood Revitalization efforts is unclear and it does not appear to be solidly connected at all.

Community Policing and Neighborhood Revitalization through facilitation: Monrovia, CA

Monrovia, CA - Monrovia Area Partnership

Monrovia, California is a small municipality of just over 36,000 in Los Angeles County, California. The city started its Monrovia Area Partnership (MAP) program in 2007 "...as a way to increase community engagement in underserved neighborhoods throughout the city." (McIntire, 2010) According to the city's website:

The Monrovia Area Partnership (MAP) is a comprehensive approach to combating blight and crime while empowering neighborhoods by fostering citizen activism, volunteerism and community pride. The partnership accomplishes this through a comprehensive application of services ranging from home improvement grants and public infrastructure upgrades to chain-link-fence replacement assistance, recreation and literacy programs, and youth employment services. (City of Monrovia, CA, 2013)

Monrovia's program uses grants and infrastructure upgrades as the revitalization component of the program. Instead of separating the revitalization and community policing components, Monrovia has made citizen empowerment into a crime-fighting tool through enhanced reporting and citizen action on petty crime such as graffiti.

Advantages of Neighborhood Revitalization and Community Policing programs working together

The overarching theme in Community Policing theory is "quality of life". Most community police officers would describe their daily activities with those three words. Although officers assigned to the programs are often looked upon as dealing with the petty

crimes and irrelevant squabbles between neighbors, the reality is they deal with issues that directly affect citizen's quality of life. Be it nuisance houses, barking dogs, traffic problems, etc., the problems these officers engage in are problems that usually require the collaboration of several different agencies within city government to achieve a resolution. As Rohe, Adams, and Arcury (2001) so accurately describe it: "The police officers involved in these programs are being asked to become community problem solvers." (Rohe, Adams, & Arcury, 2001, p. 78) Those same authors find common goals and methods between community policing and community development planning:

Both activities are designed to create stable, healthy neighborhoods, and both seek to involve community residents in improvement efforts. Thus, planners and community police officers need to work together to maximize their impacts and to take advantage of the perspectives and skills that each profession brings to the task of improving the living conditions in our neighborhoods. (Rohe, Adams, & Arcury, 2001, p. 78)

The chart below shows selected definitions of community policing and neighborhood revitalization drawn from the literature side-by-side, illustrating the common characteristics each have.

Community Policing Definitions	Neighborhood Revitalization/Planning Definitions
...involves reforming decision-making processes and creating new cultures within police departments: it is not a packet of specific tactical plans....It assumes a commitment to broadly focused, problem-oriented policing and requires that police be responsive to citizens' demands when they decide what local problems are and set their priorities. (Skogan, 1997, p. 5)	I define neighborhood planning to include both the design of new neighborhoods and the redevelopment and revitalization of older ones....The objectives of neighborhood planning efforts, however, typically go beyond achieving good physical design or improving aesthetics to include larger social objectives such as creating healthy social communities, empowering neighborhood residents, developing neighborhood economies, or preserving environmental quality, and are achieved by altering the physical

	environment in ways that influence social and political processes. (Rohe, From Local to Global - One Hundred Years of Neighborhood Planning, 2009, p. 210)
In COP the police proactively act beyond simple crime fighting and law enforcement, rely on the citizenry, engage in tactics to target specific problems identified by the whole community, decentralize to the neighborhood level to be more accessible, maintain constant contact and cooperation with the citizenry, work with other public and private sector organizations, and continually evaluate strategies and community relations. (Pino, 2001, p. 200)	Neighborhood revitalization is a concept with no precise definition. Instead, a variety of efforts come under the rubric of revitalization strategies, and a number of possible outcomes might reflect success. For example, community development efforts typically seek to improve both the physical and the social condition of neighborhoods. Positive outcomes can include improved schools, lower crime rates, increased commercial activity, and removal of physical decay. Because land is immobile, to the extent that any of these positive outcomes occur, they also should be capitalized into higher property values. (Schill, Ellen, Schwartz, & Voicu, 2002, p. 531)

The benefits of cooperation result in reduced crime and fear of crime, local residents are engaged in revitalization efforts, community police officers can assist with development planning, and both groups can meld their objectives. (Rohe, Adams, & Arcury, 2001)

Conclusion

The literature has shown that both neighborhood revitalization and community policing have undergone a significant evolution over the last half-century. Although the concepts and programs can be traced back further than the recognition of their existence or coining of phrases, history gives us the benefit of being able to study past efforts and classify them as either fledgling iterations or precursors to the agreed-upon contemporary examples of each. Furthermore, there is enough history of each program that conclusions

can be drawn as to the success or failure of certain practices and ideas within each concept and program. The literature certainly gives credence to the value of community policing and its place as an emerging dominant theory in the approach to law enforcement nationwide. Also, the literature supports the current state of neighborhood revitalization through citizen involvement, citizen empowerment, and community focus as a most effective and efficient means of affecting change in the urban environment. What the literature lacks is a study of the collaboration between programs and the convergence of the concepts both in theory and in practice. Although there is not an absence of literature, it is few and far between and case studies such as this paper have yet to be undertaken. There are case studies of community policing programs as well as abundant review of neighborhood revitalization; however the studies focus on each concept individually. This study seeks to begin to bridge that gap in planning and law enforcement research.

Review of the literature and a thorough research process has revealed a close working relationship between neighborhood revitalization and community policing not only in Des Moines, but across the country. Review of the literature reveals that community policing has become more than a passing fad as some had predicted and has enjoyed widespread implementation. Although correlation is not causation, ample accounts of the success of community policing have proven its worth in the American Law Enforcement universe. In parallel, the neighborhood revitalization efforts that started mid-century appear to have found their maturity in today's neighborhood planning efforts with a strong emphasis on citizen involvement, place-based decision making, and well-informed planning.

Despite the criticisms of early efforts, their intentions persevered and a fruitful process has emerged.

It would appear that community policing and neighborhood revitalization, having matured alongside each other, would begin to merge as a seamless part of the planning process. While there has been long-lasting working relationships and recognition that the melding of the two programs has mutually beneficial outcomes, their working relationship has not solidified completely. Des Moines is an example of the ability of these two programs to work so closely and harmoniously, yet remain independent at their core.

Despite their independence, it is believed Des Moines is a best-case scenario to this point in the history of the partnership between community policing and neighborhood revitalization. This thesis will demonstrate that relationship, and the value it holds while hopefully informing future improvements in that relationship.

I have learned from a review of the literature that community policing and neighborhood revitalization have been studied independently quite deeply. Numerous studies have been done on each subject that highlight best practices, the value of each type of program, even the effects on employees. While there is depth of study in each field, there is a dearth in the study of their collaboration, even potential collaboration. This observation during my review of the literature underscored the value of exploring the situation in Des Moines as a catalyst for subsequent reviews.

CHAPTER III. METHODS

After a review of the literature, direct observations and experience as a law-enforcement professional, as well as graduate studies in Community and Regional Planning, a research method was formulated that would best answer the research question. As stated previously, a qualitative method was the research approach chosen and was the framework for choosing the research method. Ultimately, an interview process with an accompanying historical review of non-human subject material was formulated.

Historical Review of Non-Human Subject Material

The majority of the historical review of non-human subject material was largely done for the 2011 program review for the city. During the program review, I was given access to the city's microfilm archives and city council roll-call and agenda item indices. I was also given generous assistance by City Clerk Diane Rauh. City council roll call and agenda items were not stored electronically until 1996. As this research focused on the time period 1966 to 2012, that left me dependent on physical records for the vast majority of the research. The electronic searches were quick and convenient. Most often I employed Google's "site search" function wherein google can be queried to search only within the city's web domain. This was particularly convenient when I had roll call or agenda item numbers with which to search. When I was given access to the city records, Clerk Rauh showed me how to navigate the electronic archives.

The physical records were kept on microfilm catalogued by the roll call number. Since roll calls and agenda items start with a 2-digit year and the actual number hyphenated

after said year (e.g. roll call 02-2235 would be year 2002 roll call number 2235), once a number was identified the proper microfilm tape with the number in its boundaries would be loaded in the machine and a search would commence. In order to find the numbers I thought would be relevant to my research, I consulted the roll call and agenda index books kept in the clerk's office. At the end of the year, each roll call and agenda item was physically clipped from the typewritten paper and inserted into the index book. The index books were divided into chapters such as Community Development, Police, etc. I focused on those chapters that were relevant to my research and then perused the chapters and choosing any description that I felt may have any relevance. For example, Figure 1 shows a page from the 1981 index. The index was listed alphabetically. Mid-way down the page "Central Advisory Board" is listed next to "124", indicating any roll call items relating to Central Advisory Board" will be found starting on page 124. Figure 2 shows a page from the same 1981 index that has the results for the CAB. To the left of the results are the roll call number and the date the action was taken. This is how I would gather roll call numbers to search the microfilm. Because the index was different for each year depending on whether or not an item was discussed that year or programs were added, removed, or changed names, it required that I totally read each index for every year from 1966 to 1995. Once I had a handwritten list of roll call numbers compiled for all the years I was interested in I went to the microfilm. Once in the microfilm I was able to discard any communications that lacked relevance. Also, just as I had done with the electronic versions, the city's practice of including previous roll calls and agenda item numbers that were previously relevant also led

me to some items in a snowball method. I was given paper copies of all the items I found relevant to use as research.

INDEXING FOR 1981 COUNCIL PROCEEDINGS	
1 (A) thru - K -	
4 AIRPORT	
11 (A) thru - L -	
13 ALLEYS	
16 (A) - M - N - thru - Q -	
18 ANNEXATION	
19 APPLICATIONS - GRANTS	
21 APPOINTMENTS - RESIGNATIONS	
26 (A) - R - S -	
36 ASSESSMENTS - Schedules & Spec. Assessments.	
40 ASSESSMENT - Corrections on Schedules - Misc. & Solid Waste	
44 (A) - T - U - Z -	
46 (B) - A -	
50 BACKSLOPE & PROPERTY ADJ. EASEMENTS	
61 (B) - E -	
64 BIDS - MISCELLANEOUS - PAVING & SIDEWALKS - SEWER	
79 (B) - I - J -	
80 (B) - L -	
81 BLOCK OFF -	
88 (B) - O -	
92 BONDS - MISCELLANEOUS - PLUMBING - SEWER - sewer - Street	
98 BONDS - SUBDIV.	
100 BONDS - RELEASED	
102 (B) - R -	
108 BRIDGES & VIADUCTS	
110 (B) - U - Z -	
114 CAPITAL CENTER DEVELOPMENT AREA	
117 (C) - A -	
122 (C) - E -	
124 CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD	
126 CHANGE ORDERS	
127 CIVIC CENTER	
128 (C) - H - I -	
134 CITY CLERK	
135 CITY MANAGER - MONTHLY REPORTS	
134 CITY PLAN & ZONING COMMISSION - (See indexing under "Plan & Zoning")	
136 CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION	
145 (C) - L -	
147 CLAIMS & SETTLEMENTS	
155 (C) - O -	
165 COMMITTEES - Advisory & Valuation	
167 COMMITTEES - Misc.	
172 CONDEMNATIONS	
173 CONTRACTS - - Misc. (189 GARDEN CONTRACTS)	
190 " - - Public Works - (Paving, Sewer, Sidewalks)	
193 CONTRACTS - - Private	
194 " - - Sewer Svcs. - Sewer Connections	
195 (C) - R -	

Figure 1 - 1981 Roll Call Index

(4) Date of Election=Saturday, 11-13-82	
(5) Names for the Election Committee R, F, & Adopt expt., see RG	
4348 10-20-82	CAB comm. enclosing report of 1981/82 Low-Income Energy Assistance Program Report R & F
4655 10-4-82	CAB re the impact of precinct & boundary changes on at large reprs, holding unexpired terms on various NPBs Approve Board rec, that all seat be up for election except one in Industrial Area SE
4805 10-18-82	CAB comm. forwarding the recs. re election policy for Neighborhood Elections: R & F
5500 12-6-82	CAB, comm. req Council dir, Mgr, to look into the severity & cause of storm & san, sewer back-up problems in eastern portion of Logan Redevel Area; R, F, & Cont for 2 wks till full report about sewer capacity in Logan area has been made.
5850 12-20-82	CAB comm. re Elderly Nutrition Program Mgr. R & F

Figure 2 - 1981 Roll Call Index page

The other major source for historical review was newspaper archives. I took advantage of the electronic archives that are available on the internet such as www.newspapers.com wherein private companies have amassed large collections of popular newspapers and archived them electronically. The biggest advantage of these services is the ability to search the text within the newspaper itself. Therefore, search terms like "Model Cities" yielded headline and story content hits that in the past would require an arduous simple visual search of each individual paper. I also took advantage of Iowa State University's microfilm archive of the Des Moines Register when a search for data yielded only a date for which the story had run. Because the Des Moines Register was a prominent and award-winning newspaper, this added to Des Moines' suitability as a case study.

Other Research

During my coursework, I kept a running file of literature that I had obtained either as assigned reading or as research for course assignments that I felt would be useful in my final research. Furthermore, I kept a file on each course in order to make items not kept in the running file available. This research became especially helpful in the composition of the literature review. It became exceedingly obvious that a succinct yet satisfactory history of neighborhood revitalization would have to be condensed from roughly three years of coursework. Without the running file of research, this task would have proven much more daunting than it was.

In the Summer of 2013, I was enrolled in two separate independent study courses. The research and writings from those courses became the foundation for two of the chapters in this work. Much of the work for the literature review was compiled during this time. Also, the historical overview chapter benefitted greatly from the research done in Summer 2013. Particularly, the historical development of community policing was an area that needed shoring up for the final draft of this thesis. All of the research done for those two courses was integrated into the final product.

Human Subject Research

Once I had decided on a research method that included Human Subject Research, preparations had to be made to address not only the framework of the research, but the steps needed to conform to Institutional Review Board standards as well. As each document

and method was being prepared, it needed to be prepared in the same way it would be used in the field.

First, a recruitment script was written that would be used to recruit either by email, telephone, or face-to-face. An interview question sheet was composed as well as an informed consent document to be reviewed and signed by the participants. Next, a method for insuring the anonymity of participants was constructed. I constructed a method whereby participants would be assigned a unique six-digit numerical identifier, the method for doing so retained solely by me. The numerical identifier is random and leaves no indication as to how it is assigned. I then submitted the trio of documents along with the required application to Iowa State University's Institutional Review Board to gain acceptance for Human Subject Research. Among the application requirements is an explanation of the method chosen for recruitment. The initial recruitment list was formulated based on personal knowledge of a recruit's work experience, current or past position(s) held at the city, and perceived knowledge of the program based on what I knew about their experiences. Particularly on the police side, I knew of several officers that had risen through the ranks and had been assigned to the NBSD unit along the way. Therefore, these officers would have knowledge of how the program works from the ground up, having been line-level participants on up through commander of the unit, to administration where the decisions about the unit are big-picture. I also knew that since the NBSD program was relatively new, all of these officers would have a perspective that included programs that preceded NBSD. On the planning side, the same was true of several of the participants. However, rarely are police officers allowed to transfer laterally from outside the

department; that practice is usually reserved for very small agencies. Generally, only the Chief is an outside hire. In the planning profession, there is the possibility that a person at the mid-management to executive level may have been hired from the outside and would therefore have no knowledge of Des Moines outside of their hire date nor experience at the line level.

A concentrated effort was made to select participants that were at the upper levels of management on both sides. Officials that had achieved either upper management or executive level management had the most perceived “value.” First, most government workers in those positions tend to have worked their way up and therefore combine experience with a top-down perspective. As mentioned about the police side, a command-level police participant generally can be expected to have around 20 years of service as well as the experience of having worked in multiple roles in their program. Similarly, a planner at the top levels of management most likely started out as a planner and has line-level experience but most likely also has decades of experience. Being able to draw from these different wells of perspective but having them consolidated into one interviewee was therefore very valuable in terms of efficiency and overall quality of the data. Whenever a line-level participant was selected, they tended to have an overwhelming amount of experience; usually 25 or more years. Last, whenever feasible, I reached out to retirees. Even though the participants were public employees speaking about public information anonymously, people that are current employees will naturally limit what they will say negatively about their jobs on the off chance their identity would be discovered. Therefore,

retirees were desirable because they would theoretically be unabashed in their assessment of their former employer.

Once an initial list was made contact was initiated. Despite access to a city email address, an Iowa State email address for all communication regarding this project was used as an additional step to preserve the role as a researcher in this endeavor. Surprisingly, several positive responses were received indicating a large willingness to participate. Also unexpectedly, one initial recruit declined participation due to a lack of experience and time with the city. Also, this started the process of snowball recruitment that was anticipated to happen. As interviews were started or through email conversations, other potential recruits were identified and contacted, with care taken not to reveal the person recommending them. Interviews were scheduled and conducted as they became available and restricted to no more than two interviews in one day in order to facilitate retention and review. All interviews were digitally recorded with notes taken by hand on the interview question sheet. All interviews were transcribed and reviewed for accuracy after transcription. Fourteen interviews were conducted and a balance of seven police and seven planning officials was achieved.

After all interviews were complete and transcribed, coding was begun on each interview. Three-hundred Fifty-Six codes were made, with two-hundred ninety-one unique codes identified. After coding, a round of categorizing was applied to the codes. Round one of categorization yielded fifty-five unique categories. It was clear that another round of categorization was needed before themes would accurately emerge. The first set of

categories was categorized in round two, with thirteen unique categories being the result.

This was a small enough group to accurately theme and the process was begun. Six themes emerged from this process:

1. Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
2. Both programs create enhancement opportunities for the other
3. Both programs have become institutionalized at the employee and citizen level and are now the status quo
4. Des Moines was an early and continuous practitioner of both programs
5. Creating the best Government/Citizen relationship is a common goal of both programs
6. Resource allocation versus goals is a factor for both programs

Each theme will be explained thoroughly in greater detail in the data analysis portion of this study.

To facilitate the usage of quotes by participants in specific themes a spreadsheet was composed where the first column was the 291 unique codes. Each code was then labeled with the participants that used it and the comment number from the transcript. Each code was assigned its respective category in the second column. The third column was the first round of fifty-five categories with the fourth column assigning each of those categories a second round category. Column five consolidated the second round of thirteen categories. Column six was used to assign themes to each of the thirteen categories and column seven was the six themes alone. This gave the result of representing visually the progression of codes to categories and finally to themes. Next, each theme was assigned a color code. The color code was then applied backwards through the process to help visually identify how each code made the transition to a theme. This also allowed each code to be identified by theme in a quick and convenient fashion. A sort was then done based on this

color scheme to group the codes as they applied to the theme on a second sheet. This was done both to facilitate the research process as well as to allow an easier review of the data. Figure 3 shows the spreadsheet below. From left to right, the codes consolidate to categories and themes. Working backward from right to left, it is possible to see how the six color codes from the themes separate into the categories and codes. Although Figure 4 only shows two themes, it is clearly visible how the sort was applied such that groups of quotes and their reference to participant and comment number in the transcript were able to be applied by theme.

Figure 3

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
	Subject	Comment #	Code #	Theme	Code	Themes	Themes
28	S40000	T2	195	1	citizens drive decision making	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
29	S40000	T19	203	1	listening to citizens' concerns	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
30	S35780	T11	214	1	Improving quality of life is #1 goal	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
31	S35780	T12	215	1	Schools, safety, housing are big 3	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
32	S35780	T17	218	1	Planners as a conduit	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
33	S20060	T2	224	1	empowerment	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
34	S60880	T2	231	1	Decisions are citizen driven	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
35	S15435	T6	246	1	public-private partnership	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
36	S15435	T8	247	1	"there was never a chief of the program"	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
37	S15435	T9	248	1	"one of the problems with neighborhood organizations, they're only an inch deep and a mile wide"	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
38	S40334	T1	254	1	Recovering from recession	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
39	S40334	T2	255	1	Suburbs recovered first	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
40	S40334	T3,T6	256	1	Private interests as a driving force	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
41	S40334	T4	257	1	Central city lagging in recovery	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
42	S40334	T5	258	1	"a healthy metropolitan area needs a healthy central city"	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
43	S40334	T12	264	1	Early neighborhoods were created by govt.	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
44	S40334	T24,T33	273	1	Crime an issue geographically	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
45	S40334	T25	274	1	Citizen participation	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
46	S40334	T27	276	1	Early urban renewal was just replacement	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
47	S40334	T41	288	1	Continuum of enforcement action	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
48	S40334	T44	291	1	Every place is different	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas	Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
49	S02900	T13	13	2	training is helpful	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other
50	S02900	T20	18	2	effective community policing perpetuates revitalization	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other
51	S02900; S20060	T21; T10	19	2	collaboration enhances impact	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other
52	S02900	T25	23	2	Police involvement in revitalization	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other
53	S02900	T31	28	2	Resolution of quality of life issues fosters revitalization	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other
54	S02900	T32	29	2	Working together is more effective	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other
55	S02900	T33	30	2	Both programs feed off each other	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other
56	S02900	T35	32	2	Better off with community policing	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other
57	S03275	T9	42	2	Plan on safety as well as aesthetic	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other
58	S03275	T10	43	2	Police involvement in planning hasn't manifested	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other
59	S03275	T11	44	2	Team effort	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other
60	S03275	T12	45	2	Collaboration is necessary	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other
61	S03275	T13	46	2	Three-legged stool of crime	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other	Both Programs Create Enhancement Opportunities for the Other

Figure 4

CHAPTER IV. HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Introduction

To fully understand the relationship between Neighborhood Revitalization and Community Policing efforts in Des Moines Iowa, one must first explore the history of each program. As the history of the programs evolves, a symbiotic relationship becomes evident. Once this relationship is understood the extent to which the two programs have become intertwined and complimentary comes to light. During interviews with city officials, it became clear that some participants had a clear and comprehensive understanding of this evolution and were able to ride smoothly over the bumps in transition from iteration to iteration. However, even those who lacked a full understanding of the complete story were still entirely sold on the idea of the programs working in harmony, and never seemed to

question the idea that it had been any other way. Those that knew nothing outside the current iteration of Neighborhood Based Service Delivery and were under the impression that this iteration was the first time the programs have worked in concert were still unbending in their support of the relationship the programs have developed.

Interviews with various senior city officials in both police and planning were undertaken in order to develop a history of the program. Although the interviewees were very knowledgeable, the furthest history most could relate was between twenty and thirty years ago at the start of their careers or through anecdotes they gleaned from senior officials back then. One of the most important historical facts was the mentioning of Des Moines' involvement with the Model Cities program. Subject 337450 (2013) used this program as the marker for the beginning of the Community Policing program when he said "...I'm going to also tell you that we helped set the stage for community policing in the United States.... Number one, we were one of the designated cities during the Richard Nixon administration to be – to have a Model Cities program." (337450, 2013) Des Moines' entrance into Model Cities provided a starting point for a timeline of 1966 or shortly before when discussion about entering Model Cities would have been taking place. Using these and other leads, an archival search of the city's history and the history of the programs the city was involved in was begun.

This research has shown that the precursor programs have rich and lengthy roots reaching back to the mid-1960's. This thesis outlines the program's history beginning with the programs and events that were in place prior to the inception of the NBSD program and

then traces the program's growth to 2012. The Precursor section may seem disproportionately long, seemingly discounting the programs prior to NBSD. However, the interview data shows that all of the participants see NBSD as the culmination of the fractious programs of yesteryear. Furthermore, as explained above, NBSD represents the program in place for the majority of the respondent's careers in both the police and planning departments. Although it will be shown that NBSD and the community policing efforts do still operate as independent programs in some regards, they are also "...absolutely intertwined...a neighborhood can't be revitalized unless you have buy-in from both the community and law enforcement working together with other agencies to make their neighborhood more vibrant." (088125, 2013) Because of this, the chapter is separated into four time periods:

1. Precursors – 1966 to 1999
2. Early Years – 1999 to 2002
3. NBSD as it grew – 2002 to 2010
4. NBSD today – Present

These four time periods each have their unique identifying events. "Precursors" are programs or events that either laid the groundwork for NBSD in some way, were absorbed into NBSD, or evolved into NBSD. In many cases, there is no documentation supporting the idea that the early programs directly influenced their contemporary counterparts. However, the parallels and influences will be undeniably illustrated. The "Early Years" period is the three pilot phase years of the NBSD program which includes the period of its infancy and initial evaluation to determine its continuance. The third time period, "NBSD as it grew", covers the program's expansion beyond its pilot phase to just short of present day. Lastly,

“NBSD today” is the current state of the program. This will help the reader create a clear mental picture of the evolution of the Neighborhood Revitalization and Community Policing programs and define in a comprehensive yet concise manner the concurrent and convergent history of the Neighborhood Revitalization and Community Policing programs in Des Moines from 1966 to 2012.

Neighborhood Based Service Delivery (NBSD) is the current plan in place that incorporates Community Policing with Neighborhood Revitalization. However, a study of the history of programs in Des Moines will reveal that NBSD is a neighborhood revitalization program that uses Community Policing to enhance the results. In Des Moines, the Neighborhood Revitalization Program (NRP) and NBSD are seen as two separate programs that may work in concert. However, the distinction is supposed to be clear and the programs separate. Inside city government, the programs are completely separate; to the outsider, the distinction is much less clear. The Neighborhood Revitalization Program is under the purview of the Community Development department and is operated under their direction. Although there are several programs that partner with the Neighborhood Revitalization Program to bolster the effects, it stands at the top. The inherent problem with describing neighborhood revitalization in Des Moines is one of semantics. An analogous description would be the use of the word “catholic” versus the word “Catholic”. The word “catholic” with a lower-case “c” is a universal term which historically described the entirety of the Christian faith. The word “Catholic” with a capitalized “C” refers specifically to the Roman Catholic denomination. Therefore, when speaking of neighborhood revitalization in Des Moines, one must work to define the reference. Is the discussion centered on the

official Neighborhood Revitalization Program administered by Community Development, or the planning philosophy or overall goal of neighborhood revitalization? If the discussion is about the official program, then NBSD is either a component or excluded. If the discussion is about the goal and philosophy, then NBSD could be seen as the driving force. Furthermore, Community Development is clearly in charge of the NRP program and there are organizational charts to document this. There is no one NBSD “administrator” other than arguably, the City Manager. Each department is expected to maintain their involvement and commitment to the NBSD program, but they are left to administer and assign the involvement as they see fit. The same approach of using lower case or capital letters to distinguish the reference will therefore be used in discussing the role of each.

The two programs are tightly interrelated. The sole difference between the two programs is that NBSD operates in some NRP neighborhoods, but NRP can operate in a neighborhood without NBSD (See Figure 5). The items in the yellow sphere are under Community Development. The items in the blue sphere are under the Police Department. The tan rectangle encompasses programs from both spheres that work toward the goal of neighborhood revitalization. Within the tan rectangle is a green rectangle representing NBSD which shows the programs commonly available to the NBSD program. Using this graphical representation, one can see the above described relationship where NBSD is not officially part of the Neighborhood Revitalization Program, yet it can be called upon to act as part of the plan or goal.

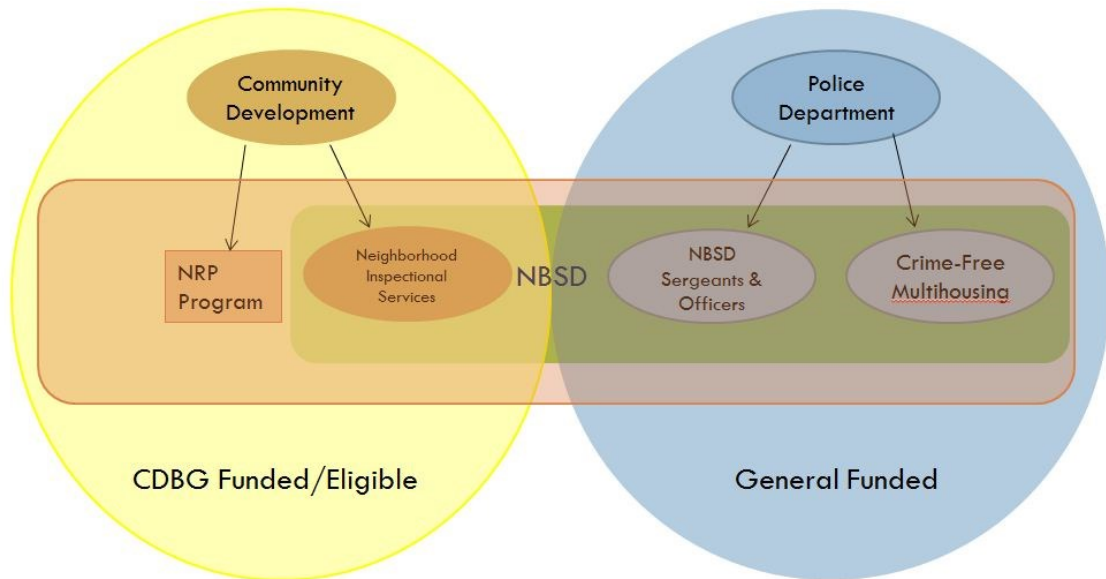


Figure 5

Neighborhood Based Service Delivery as an official city institution traces its roots to 1999 when then City Manager Eric Anderson gained approval from the city council on February 15th, 1999 to implement the program. (City Council, 1999, pp. 99-059) The intention of Neighborhood Based Service Delivery was to provide a program “designed to revitalize and stabilize distressed/transitional neighborhoods by creating a service delivery partnership between citizens and city staff”. (City Council, 1999, pp. 99-059) To do so would bring “personnel from the Police Department, Community Development, the Fire Department, Parks and Recreation, Housing Services, Public Works, Des Moines Water Works, and the Des Moines School System...” (City Council, 1999, pp. 99-059) and the City Manager’s office to bear on the above stated goal of neighborhood revitalization and stabilization. The historical precursors to NBSD operated nearly identically to this framework and NBSD was the next best iteration of this ideal. NBSD has largely become a

Community Policing and Inspections program that uses neighborhood revitalization as its justification.

Precursors – 1966 to 1999

The Johnson Task Forces and their effects on Urban Planning and Community Policing

Model Cities

Des Moines can trace its neighborhood revitalization roots to the Model Cities program of 1966. Schechter (2011) describes neatly the origins of the Model Cities program:

The Model Cities Program originated as a solution to urban violence and blight and as a response to disillusionment with the proliferation of bureaucracy associated with Great Society programs. In October 1965, President Johnson appointed a “Task Force on Urban Problems,” chaired by Robert Wood, Head of the Political Science Program at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, to address these issues. In December of the same year, the task force came back with a report recommending that the government create a five-year experimental program that would concentrate and coordinate existing government activities on the most blighted neighborhoods of urban areas. The Demonstration Cities and Metropolitan Development Act of 1966 is largely based on recommendations made in this report. The legislation was billed as a solution to urban violence, which aided its passage through Congress. (Schechter, 2011, p. 4)

The program ran from 1966 to 1974 and was administered by the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD).

Subject 337450, a retired senior official with the city, identified Model Cities as his marker for the beginning of both Des Moines’ NRP efforts and Community Policing:

“Number one, we were one of the designated cities during the Richard Nixon administration to be – to have a Model Cities program. That’s what it was called, Model Cities. It was the federal government’s effort to do better in terms of urban planning, and to do better from a sociological standpoint for the people that live there.” (337450, 2013) Des Moines was

among the first group of cities to receive funds from the program. (Risser, 1967) (Schechter, 2011) Although not linked officially by document, citation, or reference, Des Moines' involvement with Model Cities was the catalyst for the entire neighborhood-based philosophy in city government. The original Model Cities areas were expanded and re-branded Prime Service Target Areas and finally incorporated into designated neighborhoods. These same areas have received service continuously from their creation to present time. Also, Model Cities represents a mark in time from which the city began targeting designated areas for improvement; a practice which has continued unhindered through present day.

Model Cities selected 150 cities eligible to receive funding and those cities had to identify a model neighborhood area to direct the Model Cities funding aid they received. (Schechter, 2011) Des Moines applied and it was announced on November 16th, 1967 that Des Moines, along with 63 other cities, would receive Model Cities funding. (Risser, 1967) Des Moines' allocation of funds was \$199,303. Selected for its model neighborhood area was the Forest Hills-Walnut Hills neighborhood, shown in Figure 6. (Risser, 1967) This area would be referred to as the Model Cities Prime Service Area. The city council voted to allocate funds to the project and also created an advisory board known as the Model Cities Neighborhoods Advisory Board.

1967 Task Force Report: The Police

At nearly the same time Model Cities was being implemented, The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice released its 1967 Task Force Report: The Police. The report was the culmination of findings by the Commission appointed by President Lyndon B. Johnson. The Commission was formed in 1965 outlined in Johnson's memo "Special Message to the Congress on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Justice." In the memo, Johnson (1965) lays out his reasoning for forming the commission:

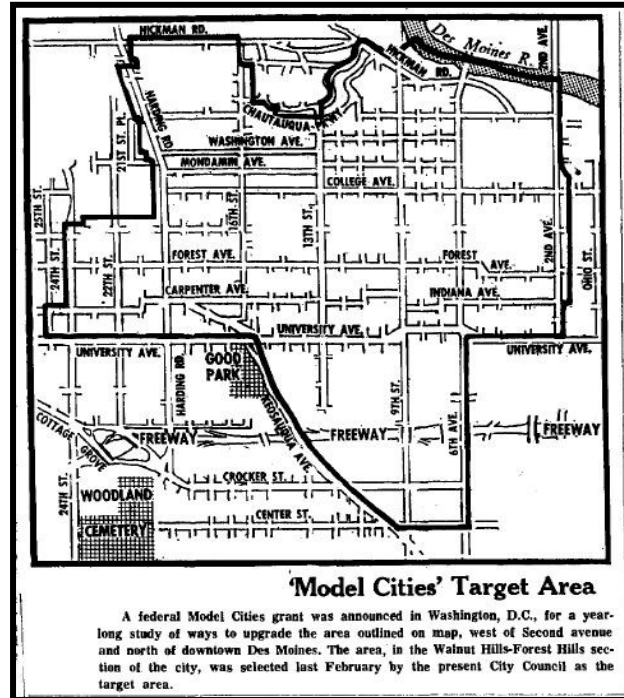


Figure 6

Crime has become a malignant enemy in America's midst.

Since 1940 the crime rate in this country has doubled. It has increased five times as fast as our population since 1958.

In dollars the cost of crime runs to tens of billions annually. The human costs are simply not measurable.

The problems run deep and will not yield to quick and easy answers. We must identify and eliminate the causes of criminal activity whether they lie in the environment around us or deep in the nature of individual men. This is a major purpose of all we are doing in combatting poverty and improving education, health, welfare, housing, and recreation.

All these are vital, but they are not enough. Crime will not wait while we pull it up by the roots. We must arrest and reverse the trend toward lawlessness.

This active combat against crime calls for a fair and efficient system of law enforcement to deal with those who break our laws. It means giving new priority to the methods and institutions of law enforcement:

--to our police, who are our front line, both offensive and defensive, in the fight against crime. There is a great need not only for improved training of policemen but for all people to learn about, to understand, and to assist the policeman in his work.

--to our courts, traditionally the symbol and guardian of our cherished freedoms. Local criminal courts are so overloaded that their functioning is impeded and their effectiveness weakened. More courts and judges is one answer, but every possibility of improvement must be explored.

--to our correctional agencies. We cannot tolerate an endless, self-defeating cycle of imprisonment, release, and reimprisonment which fails to alter undesirable attitudes and behavior. We must find ways to help the first offender avoid a continuing career of crime.

No right is more elemental to our society than the right to personal security and no right needs more urgent protection.

Our streets must be safe. Our homes and places of business must be secure. Experience and wisdom dictate that one of the most legitimate functions of government is the preservation of law and order.

Our system rejects the concept of a national police force. The protection responsibilities lie primarily with state and local governments.

That is right and proper. (Johnson, 1965)

The report was a landmark document of research on policing and recommendations for policy and operational change. Both Johnson's memo and the eventual report addressed the societal causes of crime and the role citizens had to play in the enforcement of law and order. The report pointed out that police could not maintain safety and/or prevent crime without the help and involvement of citizens. The need for community involvement and civic pride was stressed. The report also tackled such hard to talk about issues as police recruitment, training, and citizen relationships. The concepts addressed in the report are all now the core tenets of Community Policing. Before the term was even coined, the report

made significant inroads into the study and suggestions related to Community Policing. In particular, the report devoted two of nine chapters to the subject.

Chapter six was titled “The Police and The Community.” The opening to chapter six reads like the introduction to contemporary Community Policing educational literature:

Police –community relationships have a direct bearing on the character of life in our cities, and on the community’s ability to maintain stability and to solve its problems. At the same time, the police department’s capacity to deal with crime depends to a large extent upon its relationship with the citizenry. Indeed, no lasting improvement in law enforcement is likely in this country unless police-community relations are substantially improved. (The President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967, p. 144)

One section of the chapter is devoted to “Police programs directly related to community relations.” In this section, it is pointed out that “The task of building strong police-community relations is different with each population group.” (The President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967, p. 150) This idea migrated into community policing theory and directly into Des Moines’ NBSD program when police administrators realized that not only is the municipality a unique population, but furthermore, each neighborhood or community within the municipality is a population group that must be served differently as well. Chapter six also advises the creation of Police-Community relations units. As with many other places in the report, a template for how the unit should be organized, what types of activities it should be involved in, etc. are given over nearly twenty-nine pages covering a wide scope of suggested policies and procedures. There can be no doubt that many departments, including Des Moines, used the suggestions

in the report to either form or reform their departments and/or units to take heed of the advice given in the report.

Chapter nine was titled “The Community’s Role in Law Enforcement.” The introduction states “The role of other municipal agencies working in concert with the police in anticrime planning is examined along with ways in which private citizens can create a continuing partnership with the police dedicated to preventing and solving those crimes already committed.” (The President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967, p. 221) Central to Des Moines’ NBSD program is the ability of the NBSD officer to call upon other city agencies to further a common goal. One may not think of public works as a crime-prevention tool, but Community Policing theorists will cite the “broken window theory” that a broken window gone unrepaired will lead to further degeneration and decay. If a neighborhood has adequate infrastructure, it will take pride in its surroundings and at the same time will feel valued by the city.

The broken window theory originated by James Wilson and George Kelling (1982) posited:

...at the community level, disorder and crime are usually inextricably linked, in a kind of developmental sequence. Social psychologists and police officers tend to agree that if a window in a building is broken and is left unrepaired, all the rest of the windows will soon be broken. This is as true in nice neighborhoods as in rundown ones. Window-breaking does not necessarily occur on a large scale because some areas are inhabited by determined window-breakers whereas others are populated by window-lovers; rather, one unrepaired broken window is a signal that no one cares, and so breaking more windows costs nothing. (It has always been fun.) (Wilson & Kelling, 1982, p. 16)

Furthermore, once the spiral into decay has begun, Wilson and Kelling insist that although violent crime is not guaranteed to flourish, the perception of residents will begin to change. This change in perception is the key to allowing further disorder and decay to occur.

Although the broken window theory is an oversimplification of a complex problem, Sampson and Raudenbush (1999) concede that other studies have established a connection between crime rates and the fear of crime and disorder. However, Sampson and Raudenbush (2004) declare that perceptions of disorder "...are socially constructed and are shaped by much more than actual levels of disorder." (Sampson & Raudenbush, 2004, p. 323) They conclude that "Perceptions of disorder (the new deviance?) clearly matter for reasons that extend far beyond the mere presence of broken windows." (Sampson & Raudenbush, 2004, p. 337)

Despite the complexity of the issue of disorder, it nonetheless is a significant issue in both community policing and neighborhood revitalization. In Des Moines, the city inspectors work side by side with police officers to deal with urban blight, problem tenants, and nuisance properties quickly and effectively. Although most of this activity is described as "Quality of Life" issues, ultimately the quality of life issues are crime prevention issues as well. Just as chapter six gave agencies a *de facto* tutorial on police-community relations; chapter nine gives a tutorial on citizen empowerment and aid programs. Particularly important to this research however, was the introductory paragraph to the section in chapter nine titled "Community Planning Against Crime."

Crime prevention can be built into almost every aspect of community planning. Unfortunately it is too often ignored because the compartmentalization of municipal and county agencies. Crime is looked upon as the exclusive province of the police department and not the concern of those in charge of education, housing, urban renewal, health, welfare, or streets and highways. Both the police themselves and the other municipal agencies are guilty of this type of myopia. One police official described it thus:

Community service agencies and law enforcement agencies have become polarized and isolated, each acting as though they are operating at opposite ends of the services continuum.

A Commission-sponsored survey of 95 high ranking public officials in 4 large cities revealed that the police were not significantly involved in community planning. The planning agencies on the one hand were "insular" in their relations with the police department and cautious about information exchange. The police seemed indecisive about what role they should play in any non-law enforcement planning. (The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967, p. 225)

Unlike chapter six, it seems as if this warning about the failure to include law enforcement in planning may not have been as resoundingly accepted as those in chapter six. In Des Moines, my research has revealed that the majority of knowledge about the planning process by police and the police process by planners is strictly by working knowledge only.

The report gives an example of a successful relationship:

In another city, the police became an integral part of a master plan review team to screen all redevelopment plans for safety and crime hazards. Together with other agency representatives, they drew up a model set of criteria for evaluation of such projects. These criteria included accessibility of buildings to patrol units, proper traffic flow and off street parking provisions, lighting requirements, location and regulation of cul de sacs, playgrounds, common greens, fences, and security entrances. (The President's Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967, p. 225)

The report even goes so far as to suggest the police department form a "community planning unit" staffed by police officers or civilians cross trained in interdisciplinary planning. The lack of understanding and involvement of police was even addressed by

Subject 340000, a top-ranking police official, who stated simply “Sometimes crime issues are created by improper planning...” Among the issues Subject 340000 attributed to improper planning was the redevelopment of Des Moines’ southeast side:

I know for instance we had some crime issues – still do – Southeast Evergreen and in the Southeast Corridor, you know, part of our city and we did a bird’s eye view, a sergeant did, actually [name redacted], several years ago at the request of [councilman] Brian Meier for us to get involved and look at some of the Zoning in the area and it started with the council saying, “Will you look at the crime in this area” because you have these multi apartment complexes that Conlon owns and then you have Hubbell that owns a lot of property and then you’ve got some that I’m not remembering their names right now that own multi-housing. Well, Hubble was interested in building yet more big stacks of apartment buildings and the council said and the neighborhood basically said, “Wait a minute, time out, we have duplexes, we’ve got apartments, we’ve got a ton of multi-families coming into here, multi-housing, what’s this look like?” So we did a bird’s eye view. We just sort of did a radius from Indianola, Southeast 14th and Indianola and that chunk. There were 2 homes around Park Avenue that were actually owned and lived in by the home owners. Everything else in that area was a rental, everything, and we brought this to the city manager’s attention and to others and said, “You know we do have crime issues out there and we’re encouraging these owners of these apartment buildings to have off-duty officers employed there, and they do, most of ‘em, a lot of ‘em but this is a Zoning issue. You all really need to think about how did this area become the area where you’re gonna put every single apartment building and everything that you build’s gonna be a duplex or for multi-housing? I mean how do you – why is that,” and our city manager and our councilmen both looked at it and said, “We had – we realized what they were doing.” They didn’t realize to the extent that all of the transient kinds of housing – and that’s what it is. I mean apartment living, nobody lives in an apartment for 50 years but they realized, “My goodness, look at this transient housing.” I mean eventually everyone in a duplex, most people, wanna be in a house one day, you know? People in an apartment wanna be in a house one day. This is all transient, kinda transitional housing, if you think about it so when we brought up, “Okay, we can help and we can work with the neighbors on this one zone, on these Zoning issues or on the crime issues but this is really a larger issue outside of the chief of Police, anything I can do but this is something the city has to work on.”It wasn’t that the light bulb came on for the Planning and Zoning folks, it’s that Public Safety said, “Time out, you can’t blame me for the crime that’s down here, you know? We’ve got so many resources that we’re committing to the area. This is not just a crime issue;

you've created an environment for crime to occur here whether it's by putting a ton of people in an area where it's a transient housing." There's no bars out there. Think about it. There's no bars along Evergreen but there's a ton of dope and fighting and whatever else. I mean there's a mixture of theft and burglaries and all kinds of stuff that happens out there because there's a – it draws transient kind of families and people. (340000, 2013)

As stated before, it is difficult to link the evolution of the Des Moines Police Department's policies and procedures to these early documents. However, it can be clearly demonstrated that many of the suggestions in the report, not just those dealing with Community Policing, became policy or procedure in the Des Moines Police Department. For example, compare the example Organizational Chart from the Task Force Report on the left (p. 47) to the 2012 Des Moines Police Organizational Chart on the right in Figure 7 below.

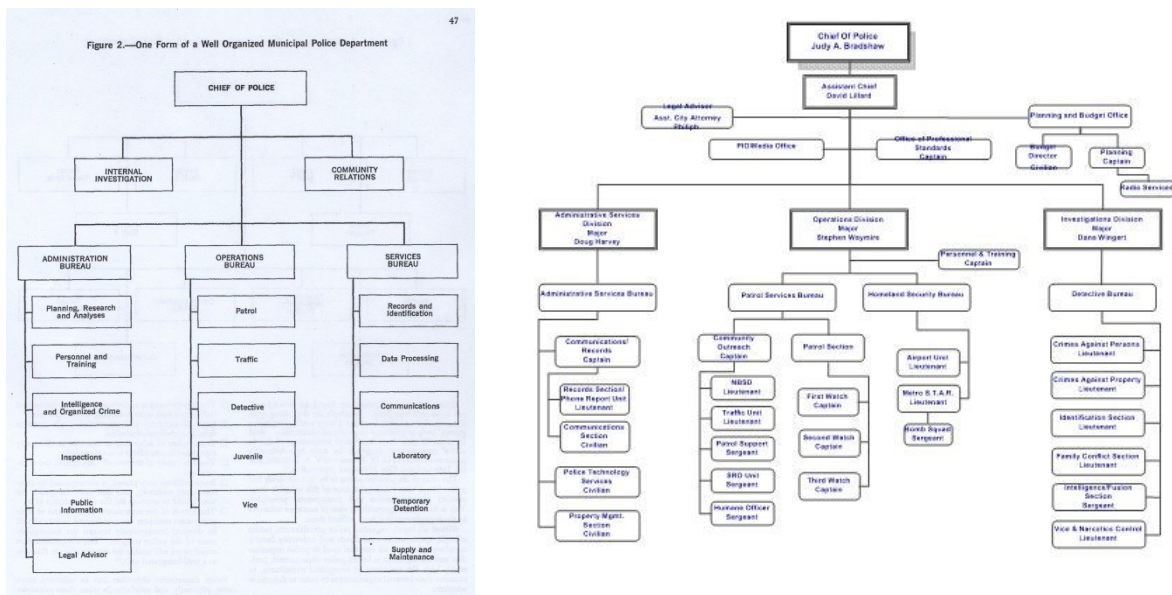


Figure 7

In the section on improving patrol techniques, the suggestion is made to implement a Foot Patrol program. The report states “Without question, there are certain area in some cities that require the kind of intimate, personal, police-citizen contact and police presence which

only foot patrol affords.” (The President’s Commission on Law Enforcement and Administration of Justice, 1967, p. 54) In 1975, the department implemented the “Neighborhood Patrol Program” which was commonly referred to as “Foot Patrol” by both officers and citizens. The program was restricted to the targeted revitalization areas that benefitted most from the contact the report described. In the project plan the program was formed “...in response to specific concerns raised both by members of the community and representatives of the Des Moines Police Department, a series of meetings were held with the Model City and Woodland-Willkie Neighborhood Priority Boards to discuss possible responses to both the significant crime problems and citizen/police alienation existing in the area as a whole.” (City Council, 1978, pp. 78-6010) Beginning in May 1976, 10 officers were assigned to work the program, five in each area. In addition to additional patrol, the teams were to provide additional police services not available to the rest of the city on a regular basis. These included:

1. Extensive marking of personal property
2. Individual commercial and residential security checks
3. Directed efforts towards the neighborhood arson problem
4. Coordinated enforcement of local dog ordinances
5. Specific response to local bootlegging problems (City Council, 1978, pp. 78-6010)

These additional services emphasized close contact with individual neighborhood residents.

Planned Variations

In July of 1971, President Nixon announced that Twenty cities that had performed well were selected for “planned variations” (Benz, 1975, p. 116), which were opportunities to extend model neighborhood boundaries or to implement federal recommendations for local program plans. Planned Variations was a result of the recommendations laid forth in the report “Model Cities: A Step toward the New Federalism” commissioned by President Nixon’ Task Force on Model Cities headed by Harvard Political Scientist Edward Banfield. The Task Force gave the original Model Cities program a mediocre review and recommended among other things that it be simplified. (Schechter, 2011) Also, Planned Variations was supposed to enhance the citizen involvement component that had not been satisfactory in the Model Cities program. (Benz, 1975) In addition to the Model Cities Area, Des Moines added the Woodland-Willkie, Logan, Logan Satellite, Pioneer-Columbus/Southeast, and Four Mile Target Areas in response to this initiative. These would remain the six “Prime Service Areas” that would receive targeted attention through the 1990’s. A map of the areas is shown in Figure 8. (Stockard & Engler, Inc., 1989) A structure was set up as part of the Planned Variations program that all participating cities would follow. Each of the Prime Service Areas would elect from within a Neighborhood Priority Board or NPB. From each NPB, three delegates were selected to serve on the Community Advisory Board or CAB, as well a nine citywide community members selected by the Mayor. Members of the Community Development Department Central Staff were to participate and provide technical assistance to the NPB’s and CAB.

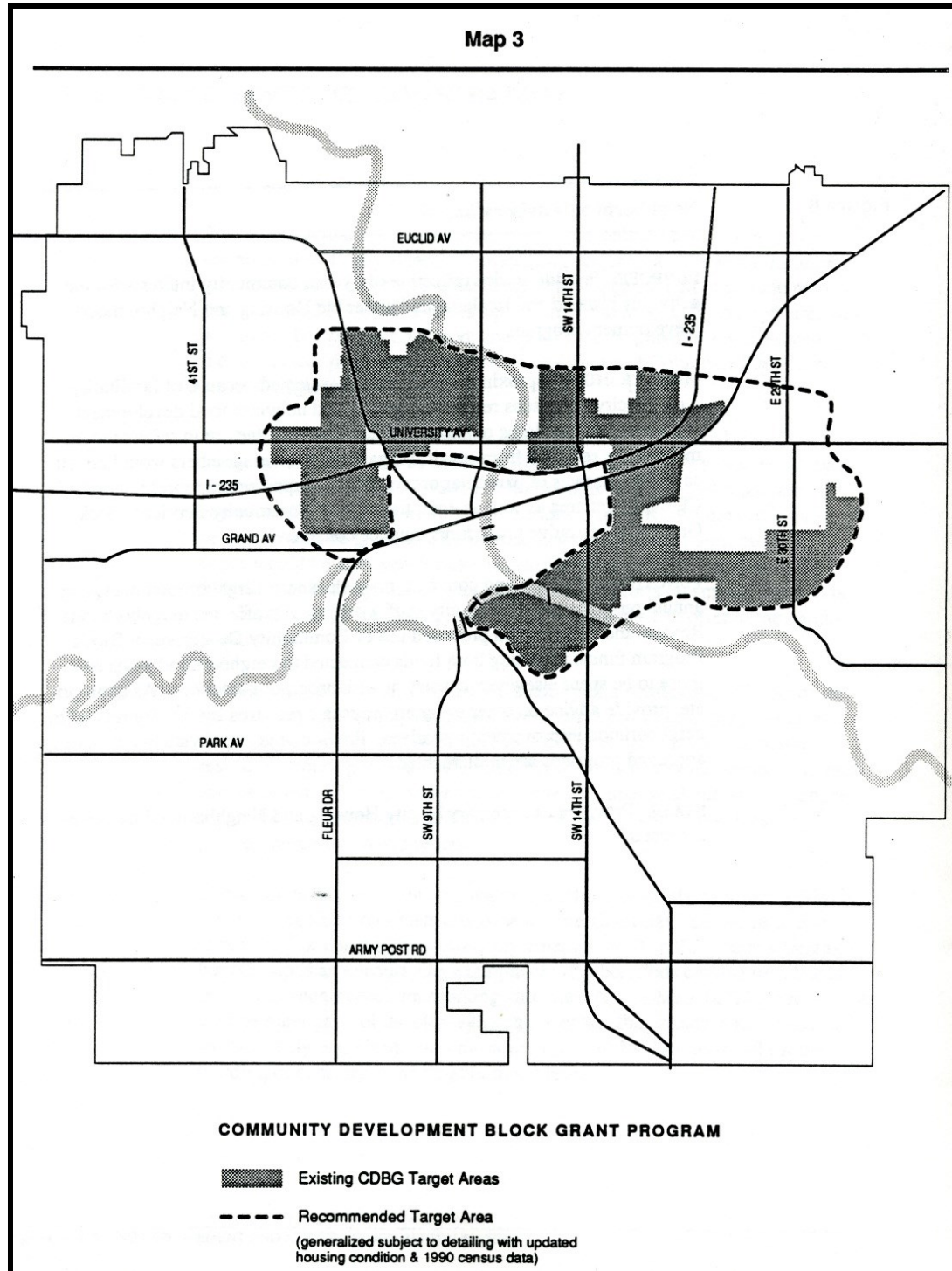


Figure 8

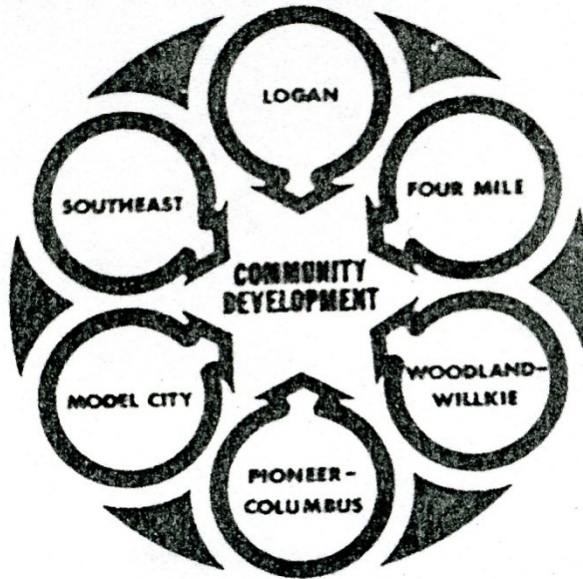


Figure 9

The “PSA’s” as they were known reported to the Community Development Department through their PSA board. The PSA boards would also send communications directly to the City Council. The logo above in Figure 9 for the PSA boards that accompanied their communications (City Council, 1975, pp. 75-1135) represents graphically their relationship with the Community Development Department.

As previously stated, the Model Cities program was the catalyst for Community Policing and Des Moines’ neighborhood revitalization program as a whole. Model Cities started the process of designating certain areas in the city to receive enhanced, personalized service that would become the hallmark of its current program: NBSD.

Model Cities was first and foremost a neighborhood revitalization and stabilization program. Any program that was funded through those monies was to be supplemental to

that goal. Model Cities is our first example of a precursor program to NBSD that intended to use individual departments as tools to enhance the revitalization goal.

Community Development Block Grants

The Model Cities program was successful, but had its detractors. President Nixon set up a “Task Force on Model Cities” which culminated in the report “Model Cities: A Step toward the New Federalism.” The report stated that the program was well-intentioned and should continue, but needed simplification. (Schechter, 2011) The Model Cities program was suspended in 1974 with the enactment of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974. The Act consolidated the Model Cities Program, urban renewal, and HUD community development programs. It replaced them with block grants for community development. Model cities were guaranteed enough money from block grants to complete five years of projects, in accordance with average spending from past years. (Schechter, 2011)

The Community Development Block Grant program (CDBG) made neighborhood revitalization in Des Moines what it is today. Des Moines has received CDBG funding continuously since the program began, receiving \$3,204,000 its first year of CDBG funding which was far above the roughly \$200,000 received in 1967 for Model Cities. The program funding would peak at \$5,658,000 in 1981 before a short decline and leveling off; 2010’s allotment was \$4,262,742. While Des Moines has consistently received Model Cities/CDBG funding for 45 years, the amounts when adjusted for inflation to 2011 dollars show just how much the buying power of the program has declined; as illustrated by the graph in Figure 10

below. The red line shows the relatively flat award level. The blue line illustrates how funding has decreased when adjusted for inflation with the black line being an exponential regression trend line to help show the path of decline. The most compelling addition to this graph is the consideration that until 1999, the money was split almost entirely between six areas in Des Moines, compared to the 27 NBSD neighborhoods now served. Additionally, CBDG funds are used for programs in neighborhoods that do not have the additional community policing services of NBSD.

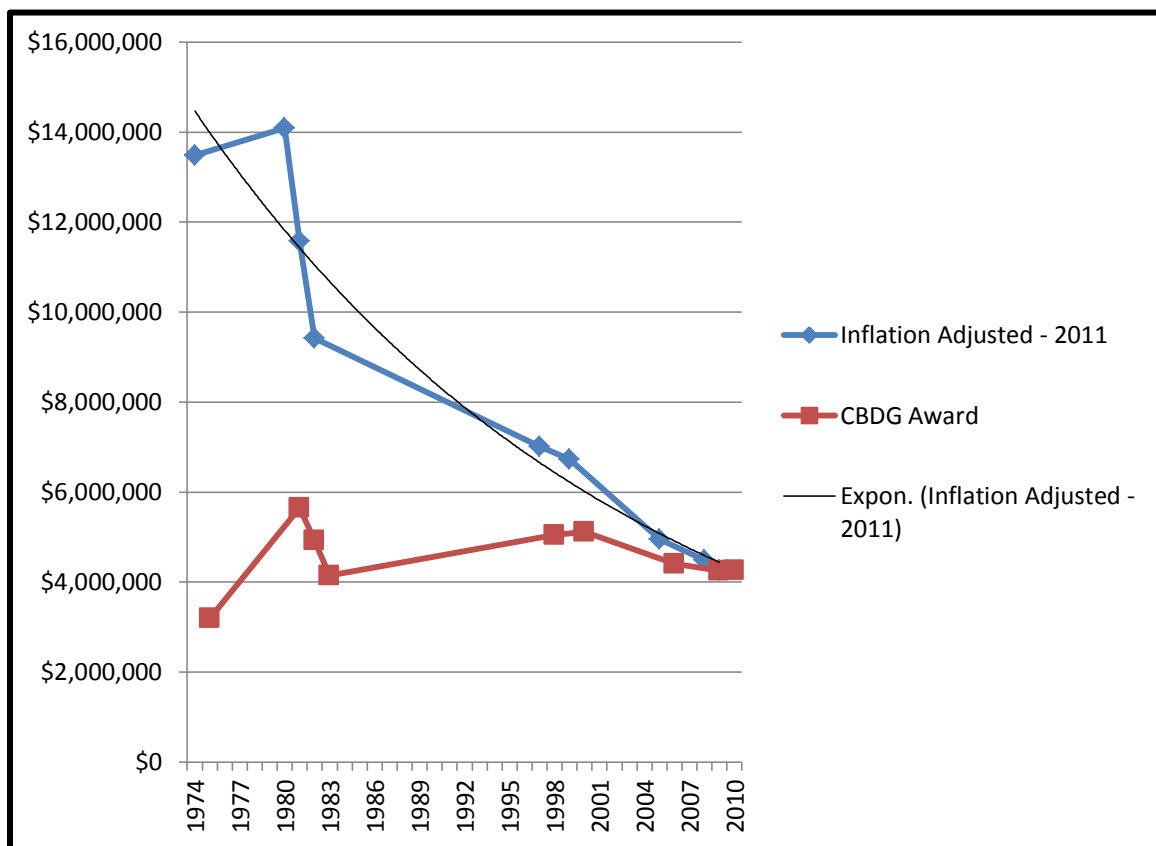


Figure 10

The caveat that CBDG funded programs have to be “above and beyond” the services the city can normally provide through its general fund slowly led to police service being written out of eligibility for CBDG funding; although the cities argued the additional police

presence programs such as “Foot Patrol” and its successor “Comprehensive Neighborhood Patrol” were above and beyond the services the city normally provided. Furthermore, the cities could not realistically attribute crime prevention or statistics to the activities of the supplemental officers or the beat officers who simultaneously patrolled the same area.

While the technical possibility of funding police programs still exists, in reality HUD has ruled that police service is always a citizen expectation and the justification data required is impossible to prove. However, HUD allowed CDBG funding of police programs through the 1980’s.

Enforcement

During the Prime Service Area era, two programs that are direct relatives of today’s NBSD were instituted as supplemental services that enhanced the revitalization effort: the previously described Police “Foot Patrol” and the Housing Code Enforcement project. Just like the current NBSD, these services were exclusively targeted to the PSA’s. They were both CDBG funded at the time, and pursuant to that, each had to be service “above and beyond” what the city would normally provide.

The Housing Code Enforcement Project’s goal was “to provide a safe and sanitary housing environment through the enforcement of the City’s Housing Code.” (City Council, 1976, pp. 76-6185) Administered by the Housing Code Enforcement Division, the project relates directly to today’s Neighborhood Inspection Division. Though not as wildly popular as other projects, the city saw the value in the project and retained its funding even when the CAB voted not to. (City Council, 1976, pp. 76-6185) Again, Inspections is seen as a

valuable tool in achieving the revitalization goal. Also of note, the NBSD portion of Inspections remains reliant on CDBG funds.

The community policing component was formulated in 1975:

... in response to specific concerns raised both by members of the community and representatives of the Des Moines Police Department, a series of meetings were held with the Model City and Woodland-Willkie Neighborhood Priority Boards to discuss possible responses to both the significant crime problem and citizen/police alienation existing in the area as a whole. (City Council, 1978, pp. 78-6010)

The “Neighborhood Patrol Program” began operation on May 16, 1967 and was initially 10 officers split into two squads between the two PSA’s, each with their own sergeant as well. It was commonly referred to as “Foot Patrol,” even after it was expanded in size and renamed the “Comprehensive Neighborhood Patrol Program.” The program description read nearly identical to the current system. If one was handed the project plan for the 1978 program today, it would easily pass for an NBSD officer’s job description. The “Foot Patrol” officers drove 4-wheel drive vehicles in contrast to the regular patrol sedan, interacted with residents as well as responding to citizen-generated requests for service, and while not answering such calls, were to “engage in tasks designed to enhance the relationship between officers and citizens.” (City Council, 1978, pp. 78-6010) The list of activities to be included but not limited to were:

...relaying crime prevention information to citizens and businesses, including property marking, target hardening and robbery prevention techniques; discussion with local community groups; meetings with specific groups of community residents that share particular problems (e.g. senior citizens, women, workers returning home late at night, etc.); activities with youth of the community; and church groups and school-related functions. (City Council, 1978, pp. 78-6010)

The “Foot Patrol” program was popular and the other PSA’s asked for it to be expanded to their neighborhoods. The “Foot Patrol” program continued on through the PSA era until the 1980’s when the city started to turn its attention more toward a city-wide neighborhood approach.

Des Moines had hired a new police Chief named William Moulder in 1983. Chief Moulder had come from Kansas City and had experienced the positive effects of Community Policing, which was starting to make its way into police departments across the country. In 1986 Chief Moulder instituted the idea in Des Moines under the name “A Municipal Approach.” Chief Moulder’s “A Municipal Approach” was completely in the spirit of the suggestions of the “Task Force Report: The Police.” When Chief Moulder met with neighborhood leaders, he realized that the areas focused on were too large. He asked the neighborhoods to identify an area that was within their locus of control. Once the neighbors defined these areas, the department would identify the key problems and attack the area as they saw fit. A new office was created in the Vice and Narcotics section called the Neighborhood Area Resource Coordinator or NARC office. It was staffed by police Sergeant Larry Cramer. Sgt. Cramer was the funnel through which all neighborhood complaints would enter the department and he would parse through them and assign them to be dealt with as necessary. A key component to the Municipal Approach however, was citizen empowerment. The department made a pamphlet that was distributed to the citizen groups and citizens. The pamphlet contained training and examples of how to deal with problems in the neighborhood. It also contained samples of things like a “Dear John” letter that

neighbors could send to “Johns” that were picking up prostitutes in their neighborhoods as shown in Figure 11.

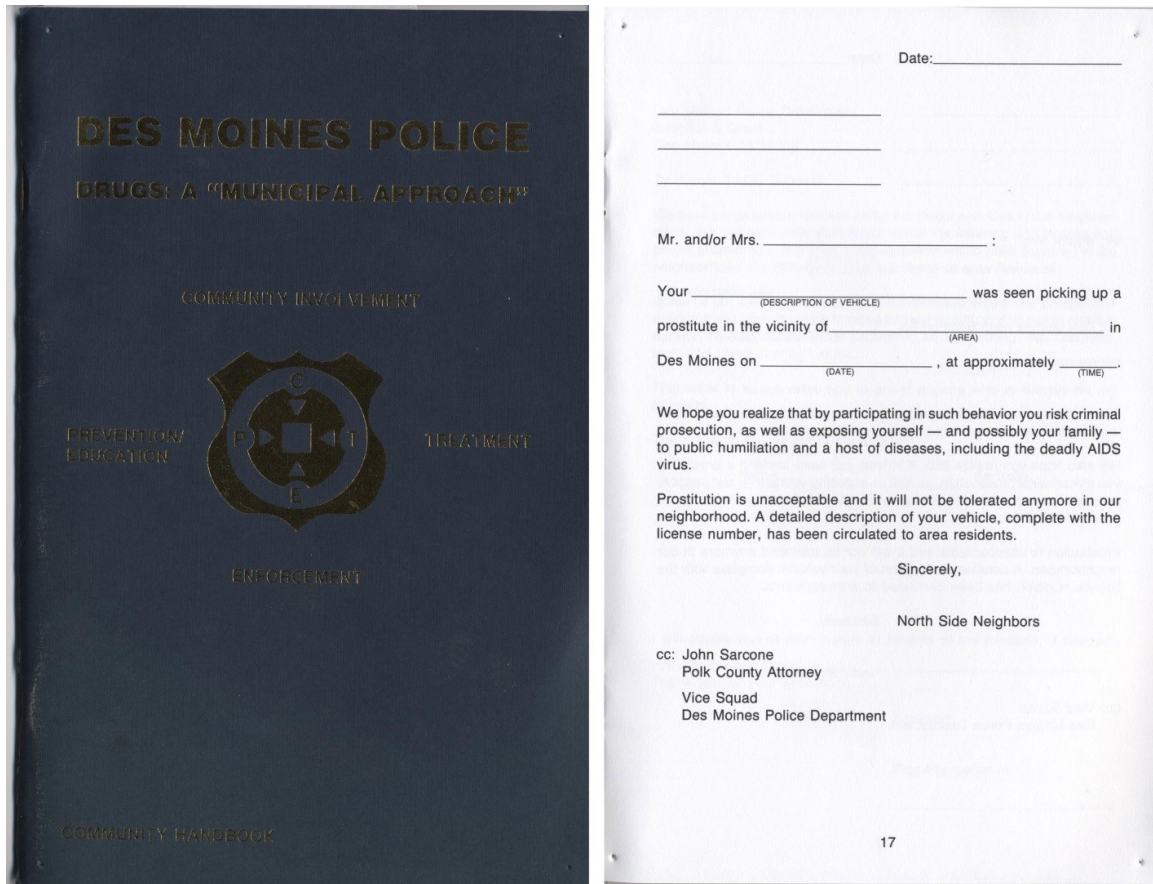


Figure 11 - Municipal Approach Pamphlet and Enclosed Sample "Dear John" Letter

Although there were several neighborhood groups in Des Moines, the NARC office was a central point of contact and the NARC officer would meet with groups as needed but was not assigned a particular area like today's officers.

The other observation Chief Moulder took away from his early neighborhood organization meetings was the idea that problems in a neighborhood aren't always directly related to crime. Sometimes the neighbors would complain about sidewalks in disrepair or downed trees that hadn't been removed. Moulder referenced the reverse broken-window

theory: if one person takes care of a broken window or maintains their property well, the rest of the neighborhood will follow suit. As a result, the NARC Sergeant was often relaying claims to other city departments on behalf of the neighbors and providing an added layer of credibility with the complaint. This segued into the current NBSD officer's role of fielding similar all-encompassing complaints from neighbors. Moulder's "A Municipal Approach" ideas were incredibly important to the formation of the police department's role in NBSD. As stated above, the idea that Officers could be the central point of contact for citizens started with the NARC office. What would be different however, would be the availability of several officers to act in the capacity that had been the task of one. Secondly, the Municipal Approach had laid the groundwork for the relationships that NBSD would need to be successful. When the city approached neighborhoods to participate in NBSD, they could call on a network of "users" of the Municipal Approach program to bolster the city's claim that the relationships were effective and could produce results. As with any program that is the creation of an executive, credit for the idea tends to get lost. Moulder cited his experience and observations while at the Kansas City, Missouri Police Department. When Eric Anderson developed and presented Neighborhood Based Service Delivery, any influences that may have contributed were not documented. Furthermore, Anderson's intention for NBSD was to improve city services for the citizenry under the umbrella of NBSD. Anderson left it to the department directors as to how specifically their agency would interact with the program to accomplish that goal. Therefore, since Moulder's Municipal Approach was already in place and running the very tasks to create the environment that NBSD sought to foster with its creation, the Municipal Approach and Chief Moulder can be given a high degree of credit

for the success of the program. Subject 02900, a high ranking police official, credits the Municipal Approach as the foundation of today's community policing:

I've been fortunate to watch that evolve for the last 22 years, and it kind of started with spearheading back in the late '80s by Chief William Mulder when he and his senior staff drafted a document called The Municipal Approach. That document still exists today, although we have enhanced our efforts. It's still kind of the foundation of community policing....We've really expanded on that original foundation laid out there. That was the document entitled The Municipal Approach, which was kind of groundbreaking for us as an agency in recognizing the importance of community policing. (002900, 2013)

More importantly, Moulder's assistant Chief, William McCarthy, was promoted to Chief upon Moulder's retirement. Moulder and McCarthy were fully invested in the Municipal Approach as well as NBSD and therefore created an unbroken line of institutional investment in NBSD. Lastly, Lieutenant Ben Bishop retired from the Police Department and went to work as the head of the Neighborhood Inspectional Services division that used Inspectors to enforce the civil codes that relate to revitalization and quality of life. Because of Bishop's experience with the Police Department, it may have enhanced his ability to work much more effectively in his role in Community Development than some others may have been.

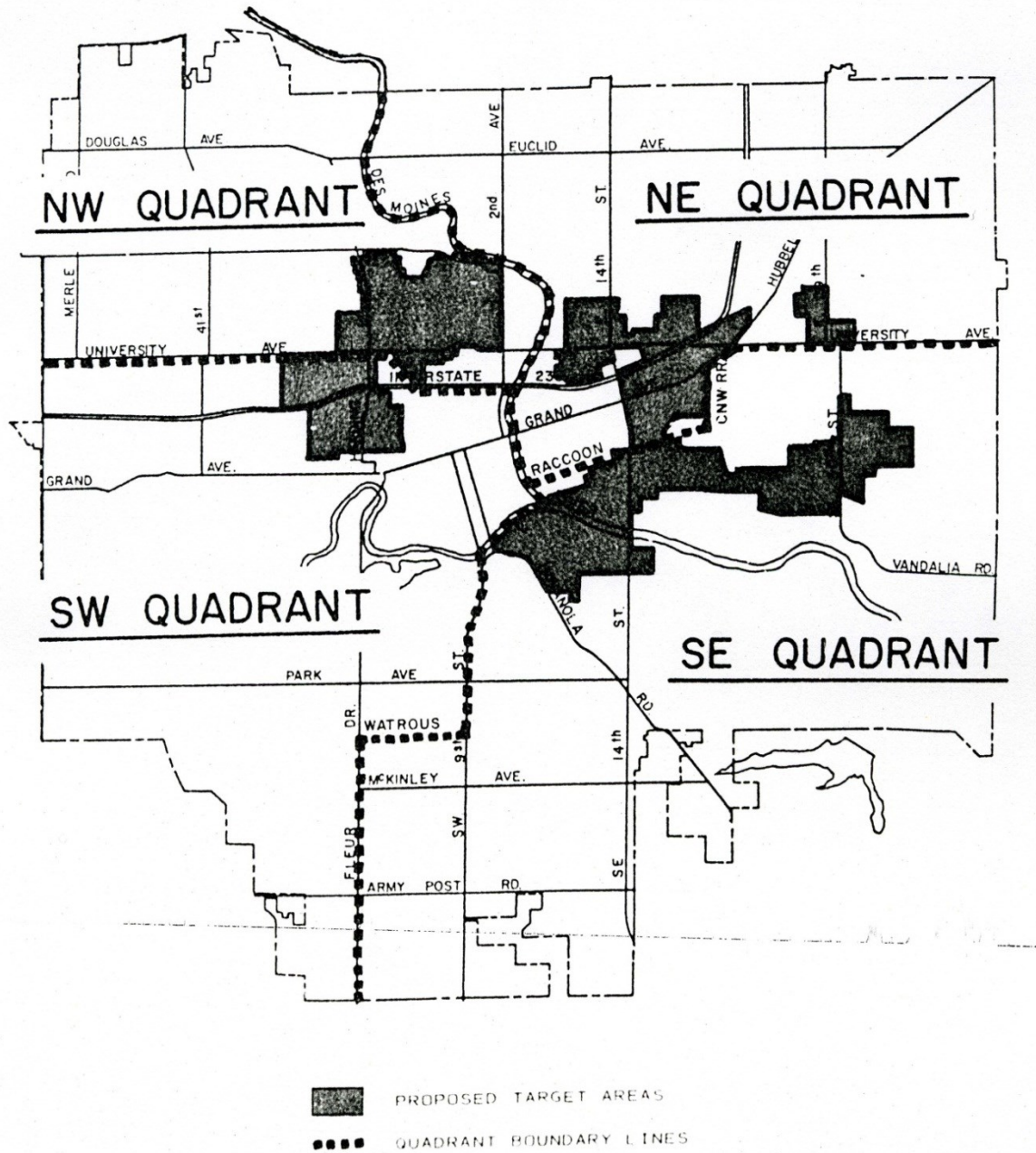
Recommended Changes to Prime Service Areas

As mentioned before, the city had focused on the PSA's from 1967-1982. In 1974, the idea of establishing neighborhood areas for the whole city was toyed with, but met strong resistance from the PSA boards; however, in 1982, the City Council adopted a report from the Planning and Zoning Department titled Recommended Changes to Prime Service Area Boundaries. (City Council, 1982, pp. 82-871) According to the report, the PSA

boundaries had not been comprehensively evaluated in over eleven years. "With new data available, it seems an appropriate time to reevaluate all neighborhoods in the city to determine which neighborhoods are most in need and can best benefit from the limited federal dollars which are available." (City of Des Moines, 1982) The report stated "In order to provide better outreach service to the entire city with regard to the programs administered by Neighborhood Development, it is now recommended that the city be split into four separate quadrants as shown on Map 14." (City of Des Moines, 1982) Figure 12 below shows the "Map 14" referenced in the report. The intention of the plan was to keep the PSA's as shown on the map along with the Model Cities, Woodland-Willkie, and Logan site offices and staff. The map then did further divide the rest of the city not covered by PSA's into quadrants that would contain a quadrant site office and staff that would work with the Neighborhood Development Central Office. This would leave one site office and staff per quadrant to administer both the targeted programs in the PSA's as well as city-wide programs to their respective quadrants. When the quadrant system was introduced, not every neighborhood had a PSA, but PSA's all had Neighborhood Development Central Office services.

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QUADRANT MAP



P&Z FEB. 82

MAP NO. 14

Figure 12

By the end of the 1980's, the city had defined neighborhood boundaries for the entire city as seen in Figure 13, designated "Map 1" in the report. (Stockard & Engler, Inc., 1989)

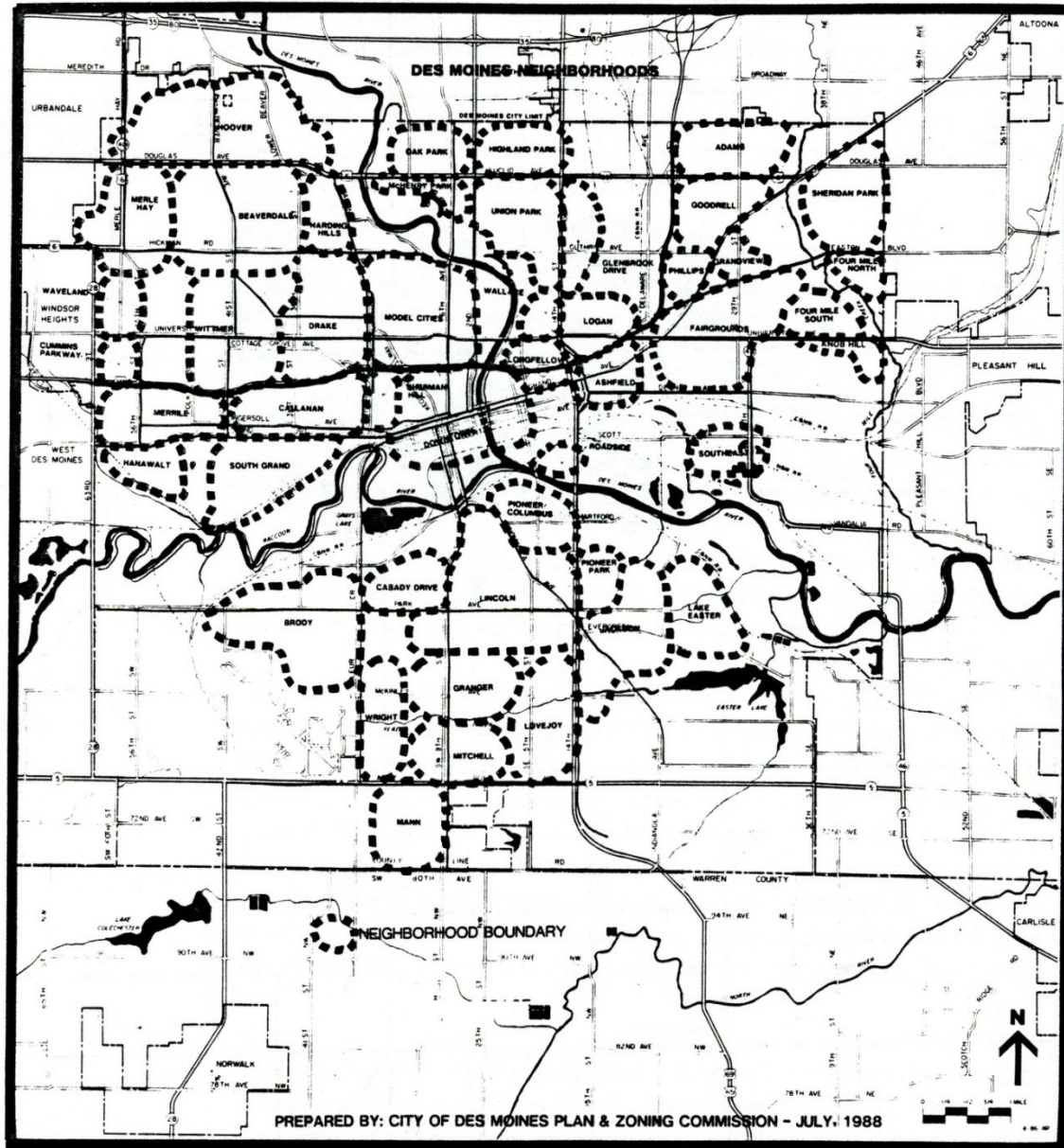


Figure 13

Stockard & Engler I

A landmark event in the neighborhood revitalization program was the hiring of Stockard & Engler, Inc. in 1989 to “...set the stage for a renewed commitment to address the

housing and neighborhood revitalization needs of the City of Des Moines.” (Stockard & Engler, Inc., 1989, p. 1) According to the report, it was commissioned due to a “...growing concern for the future of the city’s neighborhoods.” (Stockard & Engler, Inc., 1989, p. 1) The city was experiencing population loss coincidental to suburban growth, a cycle of housing abandonment resulting in property tax foreclosure, a deteriorating housing stock, and disproportionately high property taxes. This led to an increasingly poor outlook for Des Moines and its neighborhoods, most alarmingly in the central city. The report, a joint effort of the city and the county, was commissioned to reverse these trends and give the city direction toward a successful future for Des Moines.

Subject 040334, a former planning official that was with the city at the time the report was commissioned, corroborates the report’s summary. Subject 040334 was able to give considerable insight into the decision making process surrounding the decision to hire the consultants.

According to 040334, Des Moines, along with the rest of the country, was starting to recover from the recession of the mid-1980’s. However, the suburbs, particularly to the west, were recovering at a much greater rate than Des Moines, and the resulting flight was causing the problems listed in the summary of Stockard-Engler. 040334 states the catalyst for change was community-minded business leaders that approached the city and were eager to reverse the pattern of decline surrounding the downtown area:

I was happy to see that there were business people coming forward to the city, and this would’ve been ’88, ’89 where I said, hey, a healthy metropolitan area needs a healthy central city....’Cause how good is the downtown if it’s surrounded by a ring of deterioration. And so, certain businesspeople – these tended to be the people who got things down in

this community, and you can go back to look at projects like Nollen Plaza, and all these projects – the civic center. They all involve these leaders – corporate leaders coming together with the city, and deciding to do something. Well, these corporate leaders came to the city and said, look, we gotta deal with this problem. We're ready to work with the city to figure this out and to come up with some plan to help reverse what looks like a trend of deterioration of this metro area, which is Des Moines central city, and we know that's not good for us and for the community, so we want to do something about it. (040334, 2013)

040334 said this was most important, because one of the things the city had learned from other revitalization plans, most notably the Neighborhood Housing Services program, was there were three things necessary for successful revitalization: the involvement of the community, the government, and private lending institutions. With the business community coming forward, the lending institutions being part of that meant community involvement was now the missing third-leg; "We had the lenders, we had the government. So again, back to neighborhoods – what we were missing was the neighborhoods." (040334, 2013) With that realization, the task force of business leaders that 040334 had by now been meeting with regularly, decided hiring a consultant was in order: "Let's bring in somebody that does this kind of thing and that's good at this, and that we can develop a plan for how we might go about fostering, encouraging, institutionalizing a neighborhood kind of approach." (040334, 2013) The Massachusetts firm of Stockard & Engler was awarded the consulting contract and 040334's attention turned to working with the consultants to formulate goals. Of particular import was instating a level of neighborhood involvement beyond the type seen in Model Cities. Model Cities allowed neighborhood board members to be paid, creating an environment that called into question the participant's true motivations. 040334 wanted to see a neighborhood component that encouraged participation out of concern and true citizen involvement; "...how do we foster a

neighborhood component that's gonna have legitimacy, and it's gonna be long-lasting, and it's gonna be meaningful, and it's gonna help us really do this, 'cause we don't wanna set up something like the model cities program which – they paid these people sometimes to attend these meetings.” (040334, 2013)

The other big component according to 040334 was how the city could involve the lending institutions in a meaningful way. 040334 states the other big elephant in the room at the time was the establishment of anti-redlining laws which forced lending institutions to start proving to the Federal Government that they were in fact lending to areas that had been previously purposefully excluded.

The urban riots of the 1960s erupted in redlined areas. The redlining thesis was eventually acknowledged by the FHA and then the Douglas Commission report of 1968, which stated:

There was a tacit agreement among all groups—lending institutions, fire insurance companies, and FHA—to block off certain areas of cities within “red lines,” and not to loan or insure within them. (U.S. National Commission on Urban Problems 1969, 101)

(Metzger, 2000, p. 23)

The concern over how to address lending to these areas led to the suggestion of creating a lending institution model that would eventually become Des Moines' Neighborhood Finance Corporation.

The Stockard & Engler report set about making many recommendations that became the groundwork for the current program(s). The report made mention of several shortcomings in the existing NRP environment that would eventually be addressed by NBSD. Among them were:

Neighborhoods should be 'self-defined' by custom and commonly accepted boundaries. They should be manageable in scale, generally not larger than 30-40 square blocks. (Stockard & Engler, Inc., 1989, p. 6)

This recommendation was accepted wholeheartedly. Neighborhoods were at first defined by the city. (Figure 13) Those old boundaries were abolished and the neighborhoods defined their own boundaries in the application process. This practice continues today.

The City's neighborhood planning function should be closely coordinated with its delivery of housing assistance, code enforcement inspections, and human services and capital improvements. To achieve this, existing city functions must be restructured to assure the necessary degree of control and accountability. (Stockard & Engler, Inc., 1989, p. 7)

This recommendation makes clear the intention to have not only an integrated approach in the planning department, but the use of code enforcement inspections as the enforcement arm for compliance.

The City Manager must assume a strong role in implementing this integrated neighborhood-based delivery system by assuring the coordination of the City's various departments whose activities relate to neighborhood improvement. (Stockard & Engler, Inc., 1989, p. 7)

In this paragraph, we find the eventual name of the program and the recommendation that the City Manager be intensely involved. Future City Manager Eric Anderson would not only name his program nearly identically, but be the intense figurehead the report required.

Stockard-Engler identified three basic neighborhood types: Stable/Conservation, Transition, and Distressed. These neighborhood types were to be used to identify the state of neighborhoods to help choose what type of NRP project should be done in the area. When NBSD was formed, these neighborhood types would be used to assign which

neighborhoods were accepted into the original program. From 1999 to 2006, neighborhoods had to be distressed or transitional negative to be eligible for NBSD services.

On page 25 of Stockard-Engler under the heading “Crime Prevention and Security”, the following paragraph is found:

Whether the problems concerning safety and security are real or perceived, the resultant negative attitudes about a neighborhood can be critical in the process of neighborhood decline. The programs appropriate to specific neighborhood conditions could include increased police presence, mobile or on foot; a special hot line for rapid response to emergency calls; block-watch programs, and other programs to provide for increased surveillance and monitoring at the neighborhood level; and police and community intervention to deal with specifically identified problems such as drugs. (Stockard & Engler, Inc., 1989, p. 25)

Although Stockard-Engler is an NRP study, it shows a clear consideration for crime prevention as a prime tenet of neighborhood revitalization. This is the only time police service is ever mentioned in the document, but it is a telling sign that security is a valuable spoke in the wheel. The report does not specifically call out the existing Community Policing effort (NARC) being undertaken at the time by the DMPD, but calls for such a program to be a partner.

By this point in time, Des Moines had been receiving Model Cities/CDBG money for 22 years. Stockard-Engler addressed their concerns with the distribution of CDBG funds in the report. On page 31, they recommend reorganization of the city boards that mete out the funding to be shifted to a “Neighborhood Advisory Board”. There are also several suggestions regarding the amount and as to where funding should be allocated. Figures 14

and 15 show how the city was distributing funds in 1989 and the suggested method of allocation from Stockard-Engler.

The city took the recommendation to heart and formed the Neighborhood Advisory Board, giving it the responsibility to recommend direction for CDBG funding. The Neighborhood Advisory Board would take on name changes until being finalized as today's Neighborhood Revitalization Board.

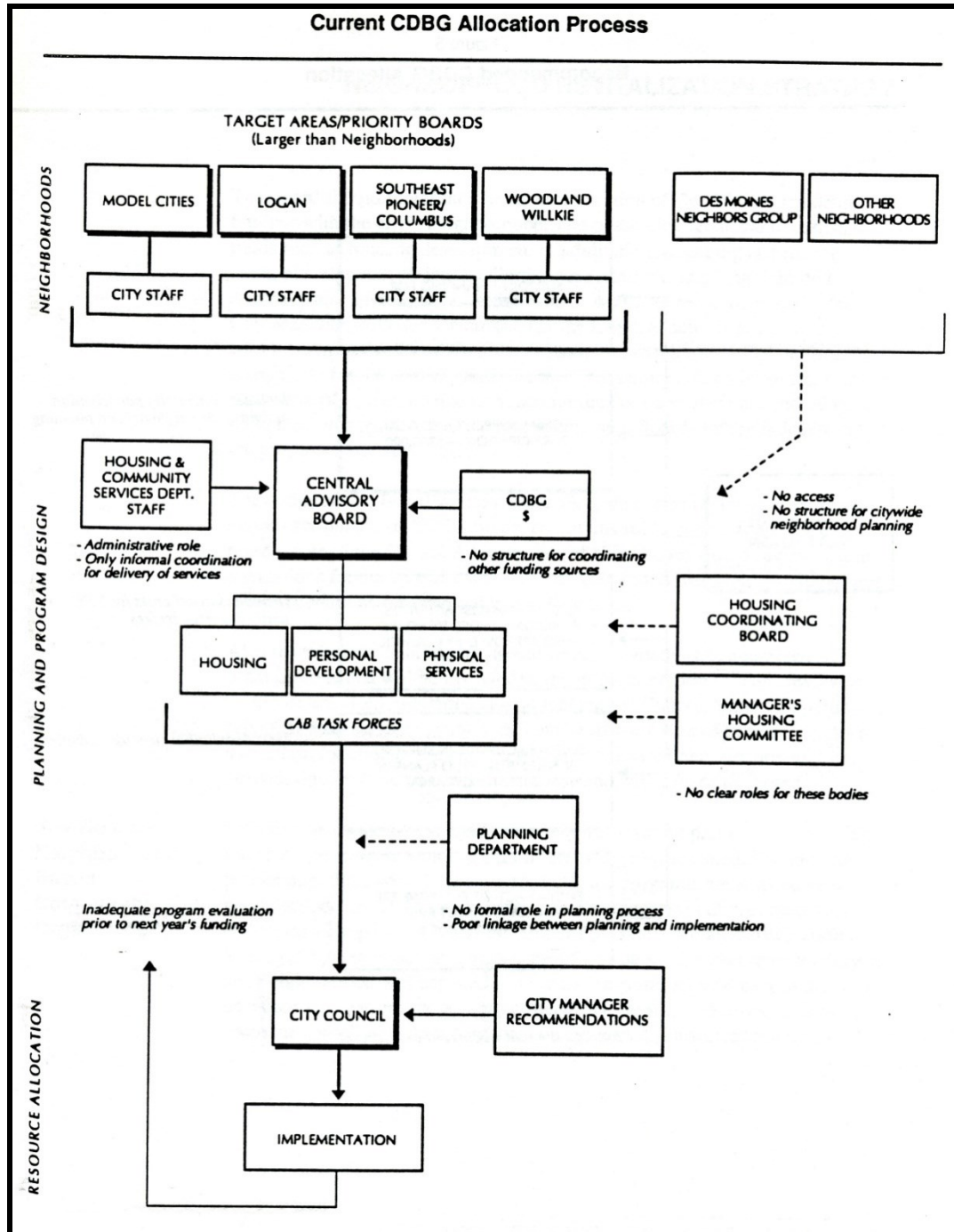


Figure 14 - (Stockard & Engler, Inc., 1989, p. Figure 4)

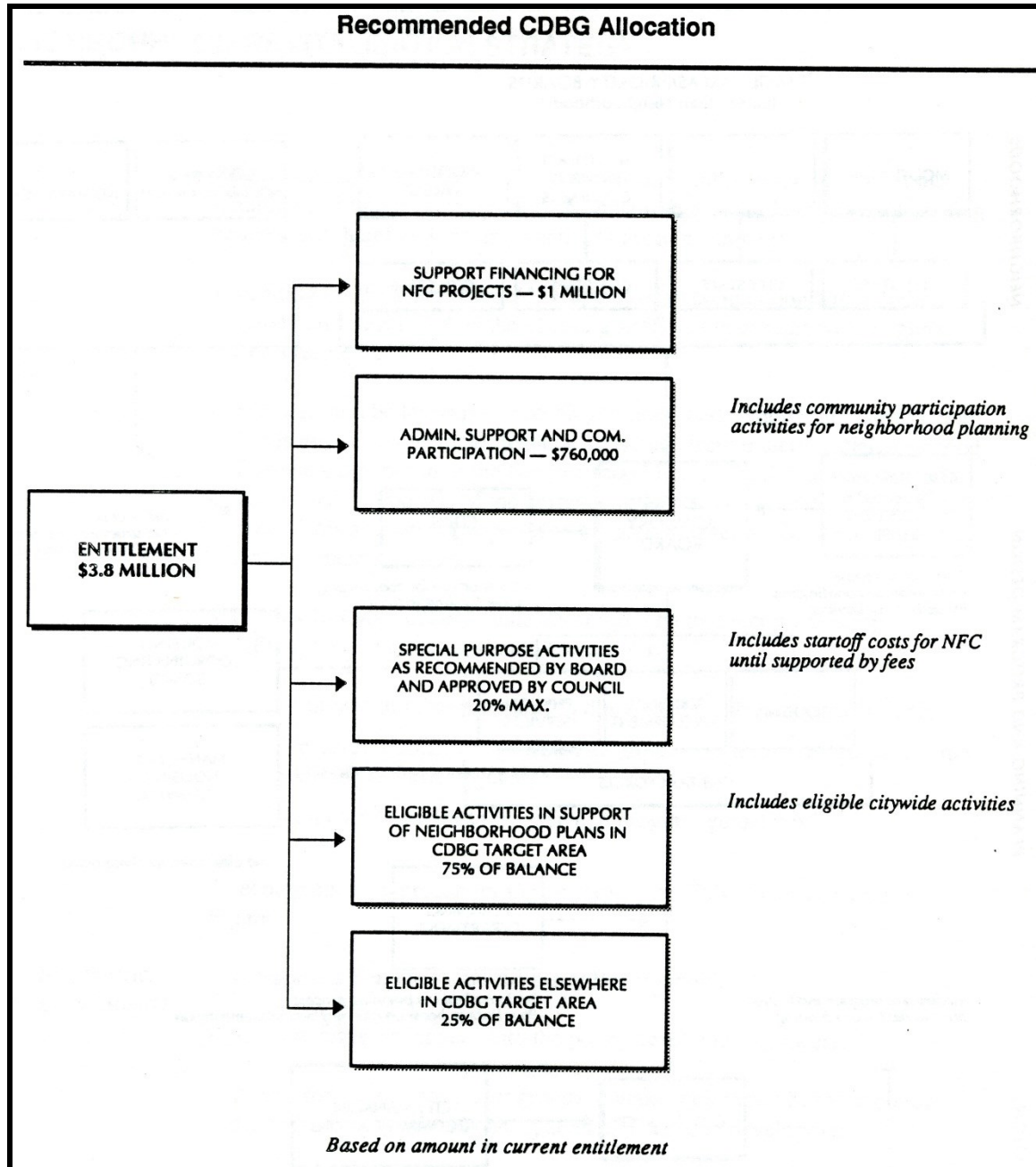


Figure 15 - (Stockard & Engler, Inc., 1989, p. Figure 5)

On page 90, the report almost seems to be calling for the creation of a program like NBSD with the following quote:

Program Delivery. The delivery of housing program appears to be well intentioned but often ineffective, primarily due to the lack of a coordinated approach. No one seems to be "in charge". Many neighborhoods with housing problems receive no funding from the existing city programs. It is appropriate now to consider a new organizational structure for housing program delivery, one designed to assure effective coordination and communication with the most appropriate use of limited resources. (Stockard & Engler, Inc., 1989, p. 90)

At the end of the report, there were 7 observations listed, quoted below from pages 91 and 92. Each of them has a direct link to NBSD.

- *Lack of Resources.* Existing programs are primarily funded by federal dollars and those resources have been shrinking in recent years. There is a need for additional public dollars and those funds must be spent to leverage private dollars.
- *Marketing.* How can people be expected to take advantage of all the various programs if we don't "spread the word".
- *Waiting list.* Once a waiting list grows to the point where recipients do not receive the benefits in a "reasonable" period of time, programs are no longer considered to be viable.
- *Program Administration.* The use of limited public funds to provide administrative program staff further reduces the number of dollars spent in city neighborhoods.
- *Isolated Approach.* Individual programs are often applied in isolation with no consideration given to a coordinated approach; combining program resources in support of neighborhood planning and private investment.
- *City-Wide Strategy.* Many of the existing programs lie "targeted" to selected areas; there appears to be no city-wide strategy.
- *Number of Programs.* It is nearly impossible to know the details of all the various housing and neighborhood programs. Given the limited resources, there may be too many programs with overlapping purposes. This imposes clear limitations on the effectiveness of an overall effect.
(Stockard & Engler, Inc., 1989, p. 92)

The last three observations were exactly what NBSD was formed to fight. The NBSD program was intended to break down the "silos" that city departments worked in and become a city-wide strategy while consolidating the various programs into a streamlined method of availability.

As an initial trial, Stockard-Engler suggested four neighborhoods for a pilot project. They chose one from each of the above named neighborhood types, and one that was a combination. They were:

1. Beaverdale – Stable
2. Columbus Park – Stable/Transitional
3. Capital East – Transitional
4. 6th & University – Distressed

The report included the studies of the four neighborhoods as justification. It is important to note that these neighborhoods were suggested for NRP programs. When NBSD kicked off in 1999, four other neighborhoods were chosen to pilot.

Designated Neighborhood Planning Program

As mentioned in the discussion of Stockard-Engler, the city had designed its neighborhood program and defined the boundaries itself. In 1993 the city council adopted the Designated Neighborhood Planning Program. (City Council, 1993, pp. 93-2028) This program's stated purpose is to "...provide criteria and procedures for the City Council and the Neighborhood Advisory Board to designate neighborhoods for participation in the City's Neighborhood Revitalization Program." (City Council, 1993, pp. 93-2028) This policy laid out the terms by which neighborhoods are now defined as "Recognized", "Designated", and "Charter"; signifying their status in the NRP program. Again, Stockard & Engler criteria are factored into the decision making process. Most notably, the policy sets a limit on the size of the program: Stable – two, Transitional – five, and Distressed – two. These limits have since been breached. Concurrently in 1997, the city adopted roll call number 97-2136 which gave the Neighborhood Advisory Board authorization to use the new Neighborhood

Recognition Policy to identify which neighborhoods are eligible to participate. (City Council, 1997, pp. 97-2136)

Des Moines Today and Tomorrow

Another report that made clear the intent for neighborhood revitalization to be complemented by an enforcement strategy is the 1995 citywide strategic plan titled Des Moines, Today and Tomorrow. In the report, the committee identified two sets of priorities and classified them as Group I and Group II. Group I priorities were

...identified because of their urgency and the sequence in which opportunities and threats must be addressed. The Group I priorities contain immediate, short term, and long term strategic actions for solving the financial problems of Des Moines. Several goals include intergovernmental cooperation as essential for the city's future. The city must focus on maintaining its infrastructure, promoting local businesses and neighborhood growth, rebuilding its schools, and seeking balanced fiscal prosperity throughout the metropolitan area. Residents need to be assured that city government functions efficiently. (City of Des Moines, 1996, p. 8)

There were 8 goals listed under group I and goals 7 and 8 were "Promote neighborhood revitalization" and "Enhance existing and establish new community policing partnerships that reduce crime and violence." (City of Des Moines 1996) The lessons this report provides are the ideas that the city's programs could work more efficiently; that there is an urgent fiscal need for such programs; and that NRP and Community Policing are among those two.

While the need for streamlined services was identified, the City Council decided to streamline the citizen boards related to NRP into one board. In 1997 the Citizens Advisory Board was formed to replace three existing boards: Des Moines Action Board, Citizen Services Task Forces, and Neighborhood Advisory Board. (City Council, 1997, pp. 97-

2136)The next fiscal year, the CAB was renamed the Neighborhood Revitalization Board which remains today. (City Council, 2006, pp. 09-774)

Task Force on Distressed Neighborhoods

The final precursor to NBSD was the Task Force on Distressed Neighborhoods. The Task Force was formed at the direction of the City Council out of concern about the selection of new neighborhoods. A staff evaluation showed that neighborhoods that entered the process as transitional positive successfully moved on to charter status in the NRP. However, neighborhoods that had entered as distressed or transitional negative needed to remain in the program to complete the process. It was decided there were modifications needed to the NRP to give those neighborhoods the extra tools they would need to go from Designated to Chartered status. There was concern that adding to the program without addressing the problems that hindered these original neighborhoods would lead to similar problems with neighborhoods that were added as distressed or transitional negative. The task force was composed of four members of the Neighborhood Advisory Board, the Director of the Neighborhood Finance Corporation, and a representative from DMAB. In lieu of hiring an expensive consultant, the NAB decided staff from Community Development could supplant that role. The Task Force made 6 general recommendations:

1. A neighborhood revitalization strategy for distressed/transitional negative neighborhoods requires an aggressive commitment by all city departments to work together with neighborhood associations, local non-profit organizations and for profit entities to implement the common goals.
2. Revitalization projects in distressed/transitional negative neighborhoods need significant amounts of subsidy and start-up money to generate a

desirable market.

3. Promote an aggressive, proactive approach to commercial and residential development.
4. Recommend that the Community Development Department and the Des Moines Police Department work with Neighborhood Associations and residents to determine an effective, comprehensive approach to community policing in distressed/transitional negative neighborhoods.
5. Increase capacity of neighborhood organizations to lead the implementation of their plans and the necessary technical support to prepare them for that task.
6. Encourage Polk County and the City of Des Moines to work together to develop a metropolitan housing strategy and partner in resource development and policies regarding vacant and abandoned properties. (City Council, 1998, pp. 98-250)

The Task Force report opined that “The recommendations seem to be simple and logical. Many of them repeat the recommendations that Stockard and Engler made in 1990.” (City Council, 1998, pp. 98-250) Again, Stockard & Engler’s suggestions proved to be critical in the formation of NBSD.

As stated earlier, oftentimes the influences for programs and policies are lost in the shuffle. In the city council communication 99-059 which laid out the adoption of NBSD, the only credit given in the synopsis portion is to the Task Force in Distressed Neighborhoods. The exact wording states NBSD “...is a strategy that is proposed, in part, as a response to recommendations made by the Task Force on Distressed Neighborhoods.” (City Council, 1999, pp. 99-059) While the emphasis on the previous quote should be placed on “in part”, the point to be stressed is that the Task Force on Distressed Neighborhoods laid out the necessary reforms plainly and logically, even recalling past recommendations that seemed to have been ignored. Because of this, the Task Force report retains due significance as a result.

NBSD Proposed

The NBSD program was formally committed to on February 15, 1999 when City Manager Eric Anderson submitted council communication 99-059. The action was approved by a 6-1 vote of the council. (City of Des Moines, 1999) The communication outlined the expenditures for four police sergeants and two officers and their equipment and operating expenses, three new housing/zoning inspectors, and a new paralegal. The projected costs for FY 1999 and 2000 were \$504,576 and \$559,020 respectively. The first four neighborhoods that were accepted were Capitol East, Capitol Park, River Bend, and a combination of Drake Park, Carpenter, and Drake neighborhoods. The four selections had to meet the criteria of "Designated neighborhoods with plans in place, classified as distressed/transitional negative, and has demonstrated leadership." (City of Des Moines, 1999) Mr. Anderson included the following statement in his communication outlining the structure of the program:

City staff will be placed in each of the neighborhoods starting in March to jointly work with the neighbors to identify issues and problems to be addressed, establish priorities, plan team responses for all members of the team, begin implementation of these responses, and create methods of evaluating their success.

The working team in each neighborhood will be comprised of neighbors, representatives of not-for-profit and for-profit institutions, and personnel from the Police Department, Community Development, the Fire Department, Parks and Recreation, Housing Services, Public Works, Des Moines Water Works, and the Des Moines School System. This will provide representation from area residents as well as those departments and agencies which provide front line services to citizens.

If the NBSD process is successful, I anticipate that certain undesirable elements will move from the pilot neighborhoods into nearby areas. We have identified these neighborhoods as King-Irving, Mondamin, New Vision, and M.L. King Jr. Park.

It is necessary therefore, to create a "safety net" for these neighborhoods to assure that they are not negatively impacted. This safety net would provide for

a heightened level of sensitivity and awareness to detect criminal behavior and negligent property maintenance, and would assure that the appropriate responses are immediately implemented.

The pilot project will last three years, with neighborhood evaluations conducted periodically throughout, as established by the neighborhoods. (City Council, 1999, pp. 99-059)

Clearly the recommendations of Stockard/Engler, Des Moines – Today and Tomorrow, and the Task Force on Distressed Neighborhoods had been carried out. All the city departments were now involved in a concerted, institutional, and citywide program under the direction of the city manager. Clear leadership from the city manager's office was in place and interagency coordination and cooperation was mandated by the chief executive officer of the city. Also, the relationship between NRP and NBSD had formally begun.

NBSD Early Years (Pilot Phase) – 1999 to 2002

Mandatory monthly meetings were held and led by the City Manager's office with almost all the operating departments. Representatives from Police, Fire, Community Development, Parks and Recreation, Public Works, City Manager's Office, Inspections, etc. were required to attend. Mandatory attendance ensured that department heads were invested in the program and gave it due attention and funding. It was well known that the NBSD meetings were not optional and thus the program became institutionalized. Subject 060000, a top official at the city, described the environment in the early days of NBSD:

At the time, they were forcing that down our throats. The city manager at the time, every month, we sat around a big table, and everybody reported on what was going on. Now it was kind of an elementary procedure, but it worked great to get it going. So yes, I knew right away coming in the city this is a big deal, it's a priority, and you will be there every month for that meeting. (060000, 2013)

By the end of 2002 the program had expanded to 12 neighborhoods from the original four, including those that Mr. Anderson had identified as needing a “safety-net” in the original plan proposal council communication. The program started to show its success and popularity by word-of mouth fostered a demand amongst the neighborhoods.

A movement was started by neighborhoods to further expand the program beyond the 12, but the budget in FY 2002-2003 prevented it. In a 2002 Des Moines Register article “Service program a victim of cuts” about budget cuts preventing the expansion of the NBSD program, Juanita Slaughter, a resident of the Martin Luther King Jr. Park neighborhood thought the program should be expanded to every neighborhood (Henry, 2002), a further testament to the program’s popularity. Anderson was quoted in the same article saying “It’s a budget issue, this year we just weren’t able to do it with everything else...I want to expand the program too (Henry, 2002).” Anderson stated at the end of the article that the NBSD program was “...over and above normal services.” This is the only time according to the research that the NBSD program was characterized as an enhanced service and that the city cited the budget as reason not to expand the program. In later years, staff has been cut, but the program has grown.

NBSD as it Grew – 2002 to 2010

Neighborhoods haven’t always sought out services from the NBSD program and in one particular instance in 2002 the neighborhoods Garton West and Waveland Woods were removed from the list of recognized neighborhoods. Garton West intentionally sought

removal from the NBSD program. One resident Jerry Overman, chairman of the Garton West Neighborhood Association stated:

When we first started as a neighborhood association, we had certain problems. We turned to the city and they came out here and basically ticketed everyone. The cited me for the way I kept my wood pile, I don't even have a wood-burning stove anymore because of that. The city turned a blind eye to the industrial area in our neighborhood and crucified the rest of us. We just don't care to go through that again anytime soon (Alex, 2005).

This is the first and only encounter of neighborhoods being removed from the NBSD program. Although this is an example of neighborhoods leaving the program, there was much support for the program. The neighborhoods that want to be added to the program were a testament to the effectiveness and success of the program to this point.

The NRP program expanded to 50 recognized neighborhoods, with 27 receiving NBSD services by late 2004. Nine neighborhoods across the Des Moines area joined the NBSD program that year. The additional neighborhoods included Oak Park, Highland Park, Union Park, Accent, Gray's Woods, Valley High Manor, Sherman Hill, Woodland Heights and North of Grand. Donna Peterson Secretary of the Oak Park Neighborhood Association is stated as saying:

It's a great service that the city is offering. We'll take all the help we can get. I'm hoping that Sergeant Rick Host will be a good source for better communication between the residents and the agencies in the city (Smith, 2004).

This growth stems from the previous success in the neighborhoods selected in the pilot phase that started the program. Assistant City Manager Mike Matthes is stated as saying:

It (NBSD) reconnects them to what the government is. It puts a very powerful tool back in their (Neighborhoods) hand. It has made dramatic improvements in the way that people feel about their neighborhoods. They know they have someone to call and someone to explain what the ordinances and the laws are, that's a big part. We set it up that a neighborhood could have two people they could call. They get a personal relationship with them and that makes communication happen. Plus, it gets the owner of the company (neighborhoods) and the employers (government) of the company to talk more often (Smith, 2004).

The idea of empowering the people in the neighborhoods was an essential part of the NBSD program by helping residents to address the issues that were happening at their front door.

Shortly after the expansion of these nine neighborhoods the city looked to expand the program again in early 2005. Police Chief Bill McCarthy wanted to add the Downtown and East Village Neighborhoods to the NBSD program to provide services to the growing residential developments and blossoming business districts. McCarthy wanted to protect the downtown environment they worked so hard to acquire. This brought the NBSD program to 29 neighborhoods receiving services. At this point nine police sergeants, one lieutenant and ten community development inspectors were involved in the NBSD program and went to neighborhood meetings in order to stay in contact with leaders from each neighborhood and identify problems early. For the first time neighborhoods were being considered that were not in the original Stockard & Engler criteria.

Stockard Engler II

Fifteen years after the program that was designed in the 1989 Stockard & Engler report, the city issued a Request For Proposal for an evaluation of the program that was started in 1990. The firm of Stockard, Engler Brigham & Young, LLC in collaboration with the Wisconsin Partnership for Housing Development, Inc. was retained and produced a report

call “A New Strategy for a New Time”, commonly referred to as “Stockard Engler II” amongst City staff. The report was the culmination of a three phase process.

Phase One was intended to rely heavily on the professional judgment of the consultants about neighborhood revitalization, rather than on analysis of data. It would consist of the consultants’ assessment of the City’s program as of 2004, and recommendations for any mid-course corrections. City staff was to provide coordination and data for the consultants. Phase Two was intended to consist of more detailed, specific proposals or strategies to implement the recommendations from Phase One. Phase Three was intended to propose plans for implementing the recommended strategies. (Stockard Engler Brigham LLC, 2005, p. 4)

The findings of the follow up report included the NBSD program for the first time and incorporated some of the issues that the NBSD program faced. The Stockard & Engler II report states:

The NBSD system, a demonstrated success, certainly should be a part of the implementation strategy for distressed neighborhoods, as well as transitional neighborhoods (Stockard Engler Brigham LLC, 2005, p. 5).

The Stockard-Engler report is focused on the Neighborhood Revitalization Program but most of the findings can translate to the NBSD program as well. For instance the report states, some neighborhood associations are “...not representative of the full range of neighborhood residents.” (Stockard Engler Brigham LLC, 2005, p. 1) This is an important element in the NBSD program as well because neighborhood leaders are the primary source for the communication between the city and the neighborhood. Neighborhood leaders may be vocal, dedicated, and informed, but they may not always be representative of the interest of the entire neighborhood. Exacerbating this problem is the insistence that neighborhoods define their own boundaries yet retain the same leadership structure regardless of size. Therefore, a neighborhood leader may speak for 150 residents in one

organization and 15,000 in another. As expressed by subject 915435 (2013) "...one of the problems with neighborhood organizations, they're only an inch deep and a mile wide."

Along with this issue is the issue of raising expectations of residents to the point that the City may not be able to meet them due to the response and improvements made through the program.

In some ways, the City has become the victim of its own success. Neighborhoods are now a recognized and effective part of the political landscape, but as the voice and strength of neighborhood associations has grown, it is also clear that in some neighborhoods the association is not representative of the full range of neighborhood residents, particularly more recently arrived immigrant populations. What began as a program to target limited resources smartly and strategically has spread to too many neighborhoods and too many opportunities. Now, instead of generating unrealistic expectations, the City must find ways to rein in the targets of opportunity. (Stockard Engler Brigham LLC, 2005, p. 1)

The neighborhood types from the original report were still used in the revisited approach and include Stable, Transitional Improving, Transitional Declining and Distressed. Figure 16 below is from the 2005 Stockard and Engler report and it illustrates actions based

on type and partner departments/programs.

Program Activities by Neighborhood Type				
	Stable	Trans Up	Trans Down	Distressed
Planning	Matching funds	Competitive process continues		Select one or two pilot projects in most troubled areas
Technical Assistance	Limited	City assistance in preparing plans		Core part of program
Neighborhood Capacity Building	Encouraged	Required		Core part of program
Infrastructure	10% of funds	25% of funds		40% of funds
NFC	Access limited to problem properties	Focus of lending activity		Separate program; greater emphasis on rental.
Housing Development and Rehabilitation by Nonprofit and For-Profit Developers and Investors	Focus on new home ownership opportunities, mainly through private sector activity. Some new, quality affordable rental housing would be desirable, but nonprofit developers should put higher priority on other neighborhoods.		Second highest priority for new housing development for both rental and home ownership by nonprofit developers, and for investment of public and private investments (e.g. Section 42 tax credits).	Highest priority for new housing development for both rental and home ownership by nonprofit developers, and for investment of public and private investments (e.g. Section 42 tax credits).
Neighborhood Based Service Delivery	Need general coordination with NBSD selection process			NBSD involvement is necessary

Figure 16 - (Stockard Engler Brigham LLC, 2005, p. 18)

This table shows how the neighborhood types fit into the NBSD program and also how these types fit into other programs. The relationships shown in Figure 16 are good

examples of how the NBSD program might work/relate with other community departments and organizations.

The report found that across the city there had been improvement in the overall condition of neighborhoods. Most important to this study is the recognition of the success of the NBSD and NRB in addressing issues in neighborhoods. Specifically the report states “The Neighborhood Based Service Delivery program is an effective compliment to the Neighborhood Revitalization Program.” (Stockard Engler Brigham LLC, 2005, p. 9) That success has led to an expansion of the Neighborhood Revitalization Program and the NBSD program causing a possible over extension of resources and money to these programs. As stated in the report:

What began as a program to target limited resources smartly and strategically has spread to too many neighborhoods and too many opportunities. Now, instead of generating unrealistic expectations, the City must find ways to rein in the targets of opportunity (Stockard Engler Brigham LLC, 2005, p. 1).

This statement speaks to the expansion of both programs at a quick and unsustainable rate.

The report goes on to say:

The NBSD program is an important complement to the Neighborhood Revitalization Program. It should be expanded in geographic coverage and the scope of services provided – if the City can afford it – but it must also be effectively coordinated with other elements of neighborhood revitalization (Stockard Engler Brigham LLC, 2005, p. 9).

In short, the second Stockard and Engler report states that the NBSD and NRP are successful programs that need to be utilized in an effective and strategic way to get the full benefit offered by each system. The City of Des Moines formally recognized that NBSD selection criteria changed from the original 1999 plan based on the original Stockard-Engler Report.

Based on council communication 06-654 on October 9, 2006, the criteria are now based on a “number of considerations,” such as:

1. The neighborhood’s participation in the City’s Neighborhood Revitalization Plan, including the development of a strategic plan.
2. The capacity of the neighborhood organization.
3. Social and political issues that have been identified by either neighborhood residents and/or city staff (City Council, 2006, pp. 06-654).

By 2007 the NBSD program had not expanded beyond the 29 neighborhoods established in 2005. The Police Department has always been a strong presence in the program and continues to adapt to and change inside the NBSD system. In late 2007 the Police Department began a new program called Crime-Free Multi-housing that is staffed by one officer in the NBSD division. This officer’s focus is entirely on multi-family dwelling problems. The following year Chief Bradshaw brought detectives and the traffic unit into the NBSD department. The detective portion was short-lived due to budget woes but the traffic unit remains a dedicated portion of the program.

In late 2009 the City of Des Moines recommended spending reductions of nearly \$8 million to overcome an \$11.6 million shortfall over the forthcoming two fiscal years (Pulliam, 2009). One of the possible cuts the City leaders considered was the reduction of the police department’s Neighborhood Based Service Delivery unit. The consideration of cutting this program was short lived due to the advocacy from the neighborhood residents regarding the City’s budget issues and pleaded to not cut the program. Frank Affannato, a Drake Park-area resident stated,

The neighborhood-based officer knows where the trouble spots are, who the troublemakers are, and they know where they need to spend their

time to keep bad things from happening. It would be sheer idiocy to cut this program (Pulliam, 2010).

NBSD Today

Today the NBSD comprises 29 neighborhoods in eight service areas. A map of the NBSD neighborhoods as of Fall 2011 is shown in Figure 17. Inspection officers are assigned to by service areas that may cover neighborhoods that are not NBSD or NRP neighborhoods. Police assignment is still mainly based on Stockard & Engler criteria. Currently the criteria for NBSD designation is based on a neighborhood's participation in the City's Neighborhood Revitalization Plan including the development of a strategic plan, the capacity of the neighborhood organization and social and political issues that have been identified by either the neighborhood or residents and/or staff. There are no longer monthly meetings led by the City Manager or a representative of the City Manager's Office. Recently the Police and Inspections departments have been separated physically and no longer coexist in the armory building. This has led to a feeling of distance that affects the day-to-day communication once enjoyed by the inspectors and police which was facilitated by their close physical proximity to each other. Rather than communicating solely by email or phone, inspectors and police officers could discuss issues face-to-face in passing and during the inevitable informal gathering at the beginning and end of the work day. Also, one of the stated goals of NBSD was to break down the silo effect. The physical separation may lead to a renewal of the feeling of being siloed by virtue of the separation. Subject 060000 (2013) references this change in communication: "A few years ago, some of the – I think all the police that were assigned to neighborhood based service were housed in the armory. That made it pretty easy for everybody to talk and see each other in the hallways, whatever, and

now they're not. So it's a little more removed."

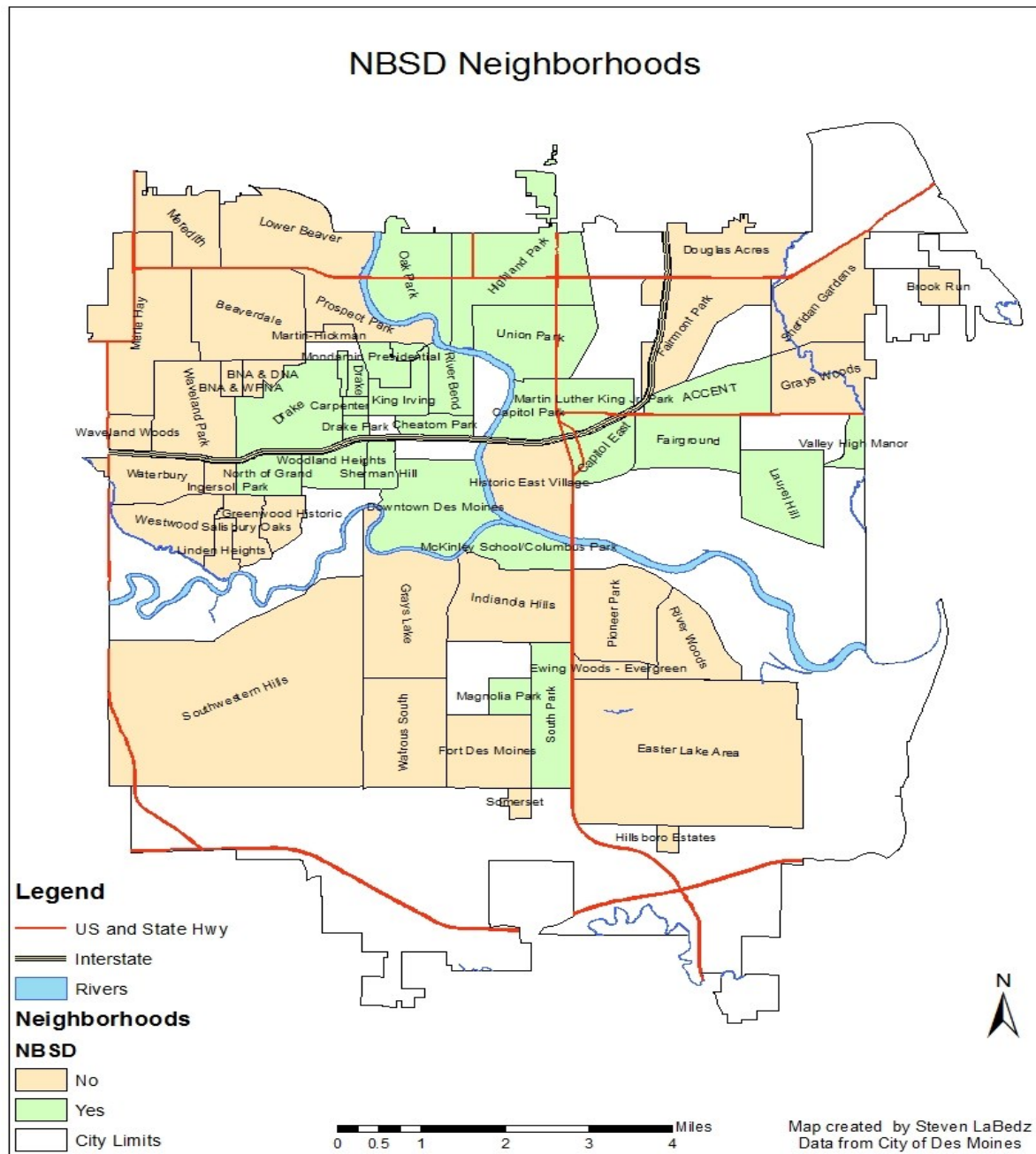


Figure 17

Conclusion

The NBSD program has been a welcome addition to the city's existing and long running neighborhood revitalization and community policing programs. NBSD represents the melding of the Community Policing and Neighborhood Revitalization Programs in Des Moines. It has adapted and grown over time along with the City of Des Moines.

Historically, neighborhood revitalization has been one of the city's top goals and community policing has been an integral part in achieving those goals. Over and over again the city has documented a desire to improve both neighborhood revitalization and police-community relations with a myriad of programs and efforts to achieve those goals. What isn't clear through a historical analysis is whether a connection has been made internally as to the value of combining community policing and planning resources. Although community policing has taken part in the revitalization process and been used to shore up or enforce the stability of neighborhood improvements, there never was, and still is no concerted effort to make community policing a concrete step in the revitalization process. Rather, to this point in history, community policing has been a sort of "big gun" that is deployed only in areas that are deemed to need the extra support. In the following chapter, the findings of the combination of this historical review and the interview data will illustrate this in full.

CHAPTER V. FINDINGS CHAPTER

An analysis of the data revealed several key findings. As demonstrated in the explanation of the methodology, six themes emerged from the qualitative data:

1. Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas
2. Both programs create enhancement opportunities for the other
3. Both programs have become institutionalized at the employee and citizen level and are now the status quo
4. Des Moines was an early and continuous practitioner of both programs
5. Creating the best Government/Citizen relationship is a common goal of both programs
6. Resource allocation versus goals is a factor for both programs

In order to facilitate an understanding of these findings, an in depth exploration of the themes is necessary. In order to explain the themes most thoroughly, the participants will be allowed to explain it in their own words through the extensive use of transcript quotations.

Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas

This theme refers to the idea that all decisions, from resource allocation, program participation, planning initiatives, etc., are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas. Nearly all decision making is done at the neighborhood level. Decisions about paving, curb replacement, designation of snow routes, neighborhood plans, focused law enforcement activity, etc. is made at the neighborhood level. The needs of the neighborhood are weighed against the needs of the city in nearly every decision that is made and neighborhood groups are given the chance to weigh in with considerable clout not previously seen in the city of Des Moines. Furthermore, this decision making process based on needs-focused reviews of targeted areas will be illustrated to have been in effect continuously for nearly fifty years.

Decisions that are citizen driven are a hallmark of both the neighborhood revitalization process and the community policing program. Subject 860860, a top-level planning official, says about the neighborhood planning process:

That planning process, for example, we're currently working in – I just finished two neighborhood plans in Lower Beaver and Grays Lake Neighborhood Association currently working in Martin Luther King Neighborhood Association. We kind of open it up to all the residents on their main topics that they want to cover through the process. For example, MLK is looking at housing, improvements to their parks, kind of they have a category more on youth, how to improve opportunities for youth in the area. (860860, 2013)

Subject 337450 speaks about this citizen-driven decision making being part of the process early on and how important it was for community self-worth: "People had a stake in the game, and as a result of that, I think it improved the self-image or self-worth of the African-American urban community across this country because they had a stake in the game. They knew they could influence city hall, and it just didn't reside in the black ministries." (337450, 2013)

An important facet of the "needs-focused review" is the recognition that the needs are received from the citizenry. Subject 040334 stated that historically, the needs of the neighborhoods were decided at the upper-echelons of city government. "So, that's a different approach than pre-Stockard and Engler where five old white guys sat in a room and decided: this is the way we're gonna spend our money next year." (040334, 2013)

Central to both community policing and neighborhood revitalization's success was the realization that the needs should come from the citizens as explained by Subject 002900: "The people that live in these neighborhoods know what they want. They know what's important to them. They know what the issues are, and they need that conduit to

communicate their concerns, their desires, their concept of what their neighborhood should be.” (002900, 2013) Subject 084280, a senior planner, says:

I think Des Moines as a community in this size city has always been very sensitive to the comments and requests of the neighborhoods. It’s something that I think is kind of a trademark or a key approach to the way that Des Moines reviews its residential areas. Nobody can tell you better than the people who live there... (084280, 2013)

One of the concepts that NBSD introduced was the idea of citizen participation as a means to an end. Subject 040334 states one of Eric Anderson’s approaches was in order to get enhanced services, it was incumbent upon the neighborhoods to form an association and get involved. Without a recognized neighborhood organization, a neighborhood couldn’t even compete. “His approach was: hey, if we’re only gonna deal with you and help you and focus on you to the extent that you do your own work as a neighborhood group...” (040334, 2013) This approach not only fostered competition amongst the neighborhood groups, but also set the stage for neighborhood groups to form and achieve “recognized” status. This approach resulted in a present day count of 58 individual neighborhood organizations that cover nearly the entire city. (See Figure 18)

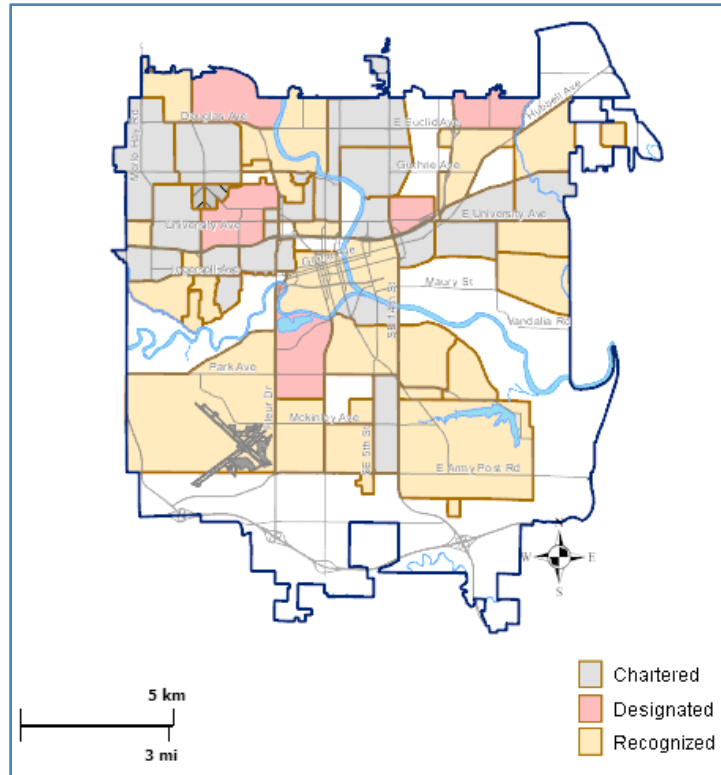


Figure 18 – City of Des Moines Neighborhood Map as of Nov. 4, 2013

Most importantly, through history and the progression of programs, Des Moines learned these values and goals. When asked the first question of the interview “What is your understanding of your city’s neighborhood revitalization or community policing program?” Subject 337450 stated in response “Well, it’s evolutionary, and I take that perspective because I think I was there when we slowly transitioned into that mindset. And it certainly wasn’t anything that occurred because we read best practices that existed in other law enforcement agencies.” (337450, 2013)

Both programs create enhancement opportunities for the other

This theme refers to the way in which the programs thrive off each other while still being independently operated to a great extent. Subject 040334, a former high ranking planning official put it best when he stated:

I think without the neighborhood planning program, I think community policing would've been very difficult because the neighborhood planning program created the framework of these neighborhoods they were designated. So, it was natural – I mean, if you had tried to establish community policing before 1990, you would've had three neighborhoods out there, and then otherwise just very, very minimal kinds of organization. So how would you do community policing if there weren't any neighborhood groups out there? The neighborhood planning program created the framework of designated neighborhoods that you could work with to actually establish a program. (040334, 2013)

Conversely, subject 003275, a command-level police official was asked if he thought the revitalization efforts gave officers a greater sense of pride in their assigned NBSD areas he replied:

Absolutely, I do. Like I said, just from the time I've been on for 24 years and when I first came on versus what I see now, some of these parks and some of these neighborhoods, once the sun set, the only people that were – the only people you saw out on the streets and people in the parks were people just looking for problems. And now, obviously, we have curfews and things like that when the sun sets in the parks, but I'm seeing the parks used now for more of a positive, softball, baseball, and different positive events versus just a place for gangs and thugs to hang out in. Because quite frankly, the neighborhood was afraid to go in and enjoy the parks because of all the problems they had there. (003275, 2013)

Subject 088125, a command-level police official with a long history of involvement with NBSD, made a striking analogy to explain the relationship that community policing and neighborhood revitalization have in working toward their common goal:

...it's like climbing to Mt. Everest. I think that one person could start climbing up Mt. Everest and only get so far and be able to do so good, but you've actually gone up – you can say you went up Mt. Everest. However, you're going to need a lot of different things. You're going to need the guides, whatever it may be to actually get to the pinnacle. That's, I think, with the community police component in order to get to the pinnacle, you

need everybody's support, whether it be law enforcement, public works, community development, the neighborhood organizations. You're going to need everyone's participation in order to get to that pinnacle. Otherwise, you'll never reach it. (088125, 2013)

When I asked 088125 to weigh community policing in importance to other programs or actors in relation to the overall revitalization goal, he recognized his bias toward the policing component, but pointed out that policing concerns may not be the top of the list for every citizen. Therefore, although community policing may be the conduit through which a citizen communicates their concern, the priority is whatever affects that citizen's quality of life.

Of course, I'm going to be biased because you're talking to me. I'm going to say, "I think it's one of the largest components." However, if you talk to someone with public works or community development, they're going to have those same biases, and they're going to say, "Without us, sure, the cops are going to get the bad guys, but you're still going to have this piece of crap house that's going to draw more bad guys." So it just depends on who you talk to. Now aside from city departments, you're going to have to – when you talk to citizens, they're going to have a different opinion also. They're going to say, "Yeah, we need the cops because they're taking care of my problems with the gang bangers standing on the street corner." So yes, the cops are number one. Then you're going to have another citizen who lives next to a dilapidated house, and they're going to say, "Yeah, I don't have problems with this street corner, but this house is causing me all sorts of problems, so I think community development coming out here and then neighborhood inspectors either tearing it down or whatever the case is, that's going to make my quality of life better, and that's what I'm concerned about." (088125, 2013)

Clearly, the success of one program breeds success in the other, creating a feedback loop that ultimately is self-sustaining.

Both programs have become institutionalized at the employee and citizen level and are now the status quo

This theme refers to the status both programs have achieved in the community. All the participants answered that a decision to end one or both programs by the city would

result in political calamity. NBSD has been in place now for almost fifteen years now and the idea of the NBSD officer as the “Swiss army knife” for the citizen has become engrained. The neighborhood revitalization program currently in place predates NBSD and especially among the established and active neighborhood associations, it is a highly sought-after program.

Subject 002900, a command-level police official, describes the community policing programs as a “sacred cow”:

The – our community outreach programs, when you take them all in its entirety have become kind of the sacred cow, if you will, within the community. When it comes time for budget talks and cuts and difficult decisions to be made, if you were to mention downsizing or cutting any of our community outreach programs, there would be a public outcry. I think that’s a testament to how much we’ve put into it and how much the community appreciates it. (002900, 2013)

Subject 060000, a high-level planning official describes how NBSD and staple NRP programs such as the Neighborhood Finance Corporation and the Neighborhood Development Corporation continue to receive support despite continual budget cuts:

Financially, the city has been cutting back the whole time I’ve been here. Six million one year, ten million the next year, and they’ve kept the community policing, the neighborhood based service delivery. The emphasis on rehabilitation of neighborhoods really hasn’t been cut. It’s had to do some things, had to make some adjustments, but they still provide \$1 million to Neighborhood Finance Corporation to help people spruce up their properties. They still provide about \$1 million to the Neighborhood Development Corporation to help business opportunities in some areas where businesses just aren’t happening, and they’ve never wavered from that, the city and all their cuts. (060000, 2013)

Subject 860860, a senior planning official describes how the program is institutionalized amongst both staff and citizens. Although the program may go through changes, the level to which it has become engrained disallows its removal: “I firmly believe that the way the – even with the city’s budget situations, I have a hard time believing politically that this could

ever come to an end, because I think the community – there'd be a large outcry for this program." (860860, 2013)

Both NBSD and the current NRP are obviously the way the city has chosen to approach decision making, citizen interaction, and service delivery for the foreseeable future. Furthermore, there seems to be consensus that these programs and their accompanying philosophies are not optional and are permanent fixtures of Des Moines citizen-government interaction.

Des Moines was an early and continuous practitioner of both programs

Des Moines' large-scale neighborhood revitalization activities can be traced to the Model Cities program of 1966-67 and the First Community Policing efforts began shortly thereafter with the Comprehensive Neighborhood Patrol Program in May of 1976. Des Moines has since continued neighborhood revitalization and community policing efforts in one form or another on a continuous basis.

On the community policing front, Subject 002900 asserts:

...I think the community-policing piece of it as far as our department goes, I think that's been in existence at some level probably since the inception of the police department.... but I think we're probably looking in the 1980s when the concept was formalized. And since that time, over the course of the last 30 years, it's really blossomed and expanded. (002900, 2013)

Both 002900 and 088125 stated that Des Moines was a national benchmark for community policing nationwide. "I would say we are a benchmark for many police departments throughout the nation as far as our community policing initiatives." (088125, 2013) "But it does pay – it pays big dividends, and I believe our program – selfishly, I believe that's kind of the benchmark." (002900, 2013)

As illustrated, Neighborhood revitalization had been going strong since 1990 at the inception of the Stockard-Engler suggestions. When NBSD was rolled out almost 10 years later, the existing community policing efforts – the Municipal Approach – was “rolled into” NBSD as Subject 060000 explains:

But when Eric Anderson was here, he kind of rolled in. Okay, the police are doing this community policing. Let's roll in the rest of our services and try to be more concentrated so that if you live in Neighborhood X, you know who your police officer is and maybe who the code enforcement officer is, and maybe who the park and rec guy is. So you're a little more attuned to the neighborhood, instead just a bureaucracy will send somebody out. And that personal touch, I think, has really changed in my 12, 13 years the way a lot of the neighborhoods look at the city as an institution, look at the police department as an institution. It's been very healthy. (060000, 2013)

With most of the participants, their historical scope was limited. A majority of the participants had been with the city 20 or more years. However, 20 years' experience in 2013 would mean an employee was coming into the city with the Stockard-Engler NRP plans already in place, and NBSD on the horizon. As illustrated in Chapter 4, Des Moines' neighborhood revitalization and community policing efforts well predate both of those efforts. However, the idea that an employee of the City of Des Moines with even 30 years' experience will have no memory of a time without either some form of community policing effort; be that “foot patrol”, “A Municipal Approach”, or NBSD; neighborhood revitalization as either Model Cities, Prime Service Target Areas, NRP/NBSD, is telling as to the extent to which Des Moines' programmatic history extends. Subject 535780, a senior planning official says it best: “I was not here when NBSD started so it's always been kind of institutionalized since I've been here...” (535780, 2013)

In 1969, Sherry Arnstein wrote a critical review of the Model Cities program and the level(s) of citizen participation it fostered. In the article she presents a “ladder of citizen participation” shown in Figure 19. (Arnstein, 1969, p. 243) Observing Des Moines’ ascendancy through the aforementioned programs and the continuity that has been illustrated, one can conclude that the neighborhood strategy achieved a level of importance

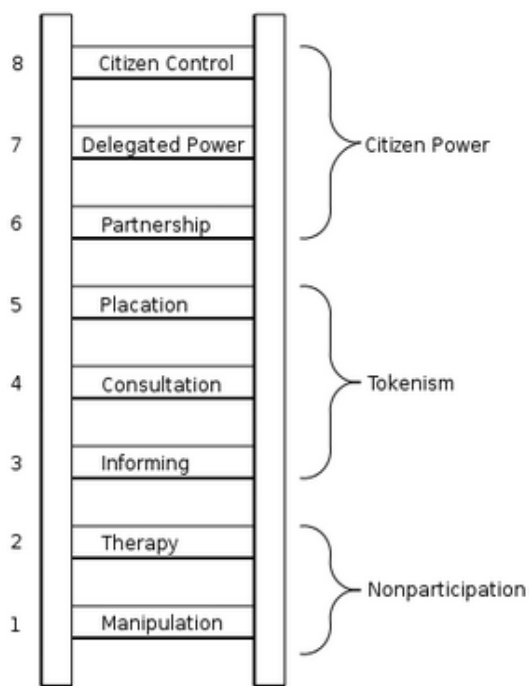


Figure 19 - (Arnstein, 1969, p. 243)

...power is in fact redistributed through negotiation between citizens and power holders. They agree to share the planning and decision-making responsibilities through such structures as joint policy boards, planning committees and mechanisms for resolving impasses. After the ground rules have been established through some form of give-and-take, they are not subject to unilateral change.” (Arnstein, 1969, p. 249)

in Des Moines due to the rapid rise up the rungs of Arnstein’s ladder by the citizens of Des Moines. Further, recognition of the value in this must have led city officials to embrace the programs and their steady reforms. Des Moines’ current programs can demonstrably be placed at the very least rung six, and in many cases rung seven. In rung six, Partnership:

At rung seven, Delegated Power, “Negotiations between citizens and public officials can also result in citizens achieving dominant decision-making authority over a particular plan or program.” (Arnstein, 1969, p. 250) The neighborhood planning process in Des Moines is a strident example of this as well as citizen involvement in decisions such as streetscape

projects. Notably, the insistence by the Beaverdale Neighborhood Association that a roundabout to be included in the Beaver Avenue and Urbandale Avenue intersection as part of the Beaver Avenue streetscape is an example of citizens dominating a city plan.

This co-evolution of citizen involvement not only demonstrates the success of the early and continuous practice of both programs, it also merges with the next theme which addresses government/citizen relationships.

Creating the best Government/Citizen relationship is a common goal of both programs

Creating the best government/citizen relationship has been a stated goal of community policing since the suggestions of the 1967 Task Force Report: The Police. On the neighborhood revitalization side, communication and healthy citizen relationships are key to facilitating the neighborhood planning process and citizen involvement. Subject 060000, a senior planning official puts it simply, “We’re all trying to make the community better. And it’s not always crime driven as much as just what kind of community we have.” (060000, 2013)

As 860860, a planner, states one of the goals of the city was to have a relationship with all of the neighborhoods in order to build the capacity needed for effective planning, but also stronger communities:

...trying to meet the overall goals of the city as far as – we moved a little bit to get to into all the neighborhoods, to have an identified plan that they could work with, build capacity of the neighborhoods to strengthen them not only to meet some of the goals that come out of the planning process, but also just to make them stronger communities. (860860, 2013)

On the police side, 004125, a command-level police official, says the relationship with the community is that subject's definition of community policing:

...to define it might be a little more difficult. In my opinion, what I think of community policing is working with the community to address the issues, having open dialogue, building a trust with the community through that open dialogue. (004125, 2013)

Because of this common goal of enhanced relationships, 084280 points out that once the programs were in place, citizens "...felt like they had a direct connection to a city service that was meaningful." (084280, 2013) Subject 088125 stated that at the beginning of the NBSD community policing effort, relationships were the prime focus. "Those sergeants had the specific assignment of not being 911 driven, but their primary mission, if you will, was to interact with community residents, businesses, organizations, anything that would decrease crime and enhance the quality of life for the individuals within their specific neighborhoods." (088125, 2013)

A study of both programs makes clear that in order for them to succeed; the first step was building meaningful, lasting relationships with the citizenry. Although both programs have separate constructive goals, philosophically, they both seek to improve the community through their unique means. Paramount to achieving that goal is creating a trusting relationship with citizens on a scale that was not previously done in municipal government.

Resource allocation versus goals is a factor for both programs

A recurrent theme during the interview process was that although both police and planning participants would like to do more, "Yeah, I think we do the best that we can with

the resources that we have..." (535780, 2013) the limiting factor was always resources; in the words of Subject 915435, a former senior planning official, "It always gets into a battle of resources, ultimately." (915453, 2013) Subject 620060, a top-level planning official explains the disparity between resource allocations in certain neighborhoods based on need:

Our neighborhood revitalization program and the marriage with neighborhood based service delivery, the community policing component of that revitalization plan, is intended to direct resources to those neighborhoods that are in most need of those resources and for targeting the resources at specific concerns of the neighborhood. It's an empowerment program for the neighborhood to self-direct the application of those resources, and to help guide the planning of it and set goals for the neighborhood that are both realistic and achievable over a period of time. (620060, 2013)

During the interview process, some of the participants answered the scripted questions in a way that led to questioning why certain neighborhoods were in the NBSD program, but had no neighborhood plan, and conversely, why some neighborhoods were in the neighborhood planning (revitalization) process, and not in NBSD. For the sake of consistency, the example of the Carpenter Neighborhood versus the Beavertdale Neighborhood was always the example given. Beavertdale was one of the original NRP neighborhoods to receive a neighborhood plan under Stockard-Engler I as the lone "stable" neighborhood. Carpenter was one of the original NBSD neighborhoods. Beavertdale has never had an NBSD officer assigned, yet has completed one neighborhood planning process and is starting another. Carpenter has continuously had an NBSD officer assigned yet has never had a neighborhood planning process. The overwhelming response was that after weighing resources versus the needs of the area, it sometimes made sense to have one or

both of the programs in an area. Subject 084280 speaks about the programs having a common goal, but separate priorities at the end of the day. When addressing the question of why some neighborhoods have NBSD and not a neighborhood and vice-versa, 084280 says:

“...NBSD had evolved as well and in managing policing resources they still want to target – while they were part of the neighborhood [revitalization] program, they still had some priorities of their own as NBSD and maybe Beaverdale was not considered one of the high priority areas at that time... But I think it’s always a balance between the department priorities and resources and how it can enhance or complement the neighborhood [revitalization] program.” (084280, 2013)

Subject 002900 gives a police perspective on the matter, answering the same question:

Obviously, the community policing efforts still need to continue, especially in an area like River Bend. If you look at our neighborhoods, our neighborhood associations and how they’re laid out, our NBSD officers have more than one neighborhood assigned to them. So there’s always going to be that next neighborhood. So once the city classifies a neighborhood as stable, it doesn’t end there. We’re still going to have a presence in there. Most of our neighborhoods are assigned based on – it’s not just who wants a neighborhood officer. It’s who needs a neighborhood officer. Crime dictates a lot of that. Zoning issues dictate a lot of that, but our officers are assigned to more than one neighborhood. So like Bernell Edwards, if you will, he’s got everything from MLK Park to Cheatom Park to Carpenter. He’s always going to have that next neighborhood that’s in need of not just community policing, but revitalization....[*addressing Beaverdale’s lack of NBSD involvement*] It is a low crime area, which is probably the original reason that Beaverdale wasn’t assigned a neighborhood officer as opposed to River Bend, and you know because you live in one area and work in another area. I mean you know the vast differences. That’s probably the original reason that Beaverdale didn’t have a neighborhood based service delivery representative in their neighborhood. But as they go through a revitalization project, I think it’s important to have that police relationship, that police involvement in it. (002900, 2013)

The larger takeaway is that the resource allocation the programs decide on independently is geared toward the most efficient way to apply their limited resources to bring about the greatest amount of change for the betterment of the community. My interpretation was that community policing in a high-crime area with no active revitalization program is still

seen as a greater benefit to the community as a whole. Crime suppression in one neighborhood transfers to other neighborhoods. For instance, a burglar that lives in a high crime area will likely ply for goods in a low-crime area; my analogy is always has always been “you go looking for gold where the gold is.” Since the low-crime neighborhood that is going through a revitalization process can be served with a lower level of community policing service, such as the current state of the program wherein community policing issues in neighborhoods without an assigned officer are dealt with on a case-by-case basis by the unit commander, the more efficient allocation of resources is to assign the officer where a greater need exists. Furthermore, Subject 060000 points out that Stockard-Engler I emphasized defining a target area and concentrating the effort until the plan had been seen through. “It was [Stockard-Engler] a study of how do you revitalize or rehabilitate neighborhoods, and their premise was you can’t just do a little bit here, a little bit there, a little bit over here because nobody will see it. Their premise was you need to concentrate in an area, and that’s about the same time that we set our neighborhood program.” (060000, 2013)

Although resource allocation has placed constraints on the ability of the programs to collaborate even more than they do, it is clear that Des Moines’ programs while independent, maintain a common priority of community betterment that dictates the assignment of resources. In doing so, the core philosophies are not compromised and the spirit of the collaborative activities is not diminished.

Conclusion

The six themes identified in the analysis of the study data reinforces the level of collaboration the community policing and neighborhood revitalization programs in Des Moines have achieved. When exploring the code and category data, it soon became apparent that whatever code could be applied to one program, it would also apply to the other. This observation held true whether each program was being coded independently or collaboratively. As the analysis then progressed through both stages of categorizing and finally theming, each theme emerged with the same applicability:

- Decision making for targeted areas is based on a needs-focused review whether the decisions are for community policing, revitalization, or both
- The theme of both programs creating enhancement opportunities for the other demonstrates the ability of the programs to work independently yet serve a common goal
- Institutionalization has been cemented in the individual programs as well as the expectation that they collaborate
- Des Moines' early entrance into both programs facilitated an evolution that has led to not only a continuity in programming for the citizenry, but a satisfactory implementation as well
- The emphasis on quality government/citizen relationships in both programs as well as in the collaborative work has paid dividends for all parties
- Resource allocation has been a challenge for both programs as well as a challenge to effective collaboration but the combined outcomes of the other themes has informed each program independently as well as where collaboration is most beneficial

Identification and analysis of the emergent themes has shown that Des Moines as a case study is a valid and demonstrable example of the emergence, implementation, convergence, and collaboration of neighborhood revitalization and community policing. With this analysis completed, an analysis of the themes as they relate to the research question is next.

CHAPTER VI. DISCUSSION CHAPTER

The findings of the qualitative analysis demonstrate the close relationship the two programs have and reinforce the idea that both programs have a common goal of community improvement. In this chapter, each theme will be explored as to how each relates to the research question. Also, parts of the programs that are outstanding as well as each program's shortcomings will be discussed.

Decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas

Through the evolution of both the neighborhood revitalization and community policing programs in Des Moines, a refinement occurred that ultimately led to the environment in place in 2012. Decisions about neighborhoods, for neighborhoods, or by neighborhoods are all made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas. Granted, the targeted area can vary from one block, to a whole neighborhood, to a group of neighborhoods, all the way up to the entirety of the city. However, this speaks to the flexibility of the program in being able to determine the size of the problem and where the focus lies.

When analyzing this theme as it relates to the research question, the overarching theme is "quality of life." The reason quality of life is so central to the decision making process ties back to another code that was prevalent in this theme, the idea that unique areas have unique problems. Over time, officials working in both community policing and neighborhood revitalization realized that the important issue was whatever the citizen decided was important. "The people that live in these neighborhoods know what they want.

They know what's important to them. They know what the issues are, and they need that conduit to communicate their concerns, their desires, their concept of what their neighborhood should be." (002900, 2013) Subject 004125 adds that addressing citizen concerns no matter their relative seriousness adds value and trust to citizen perceptions.

It lets people know that there's – that their perception matters to the police department. It doesn't – like I said before, it doesn't matter how serious a crime is. If it's something that affects their quality of life, it's something that we should be concerned about. And I think that that's what our community policing efforts do... (004125, 2013)

Quality of life in a central-city neighborhood may mean the removal of a serious crime element whereas quality of life in the transitional/positive areas may mean dealing with the last vestiges of decaying properties that are preventing the final stages of a neighborhood's revitalization. Once this concept became the driving force in the decision making process, it seems both programs hit their stride. Also, letting the unique areas define their own boundaries led to a coalescing of opinions on exactly what those unique area needs were.

As Subject 060000 says:

River Bend decided they are River Bend, and it goes from here to there to here to there. And all the neighborhoods are small, they're large, but they define it. It's grass roots type of thing, and then we've shaped from the Stockard Engler plan plans in each of those neighborhoods where the people that want to participate help formulate what they want to have done, and part of that is always policing and safety issues. (060000, 2013)

When Subject 088125 was asked if the community policing program enhances neighborhood revitalization, Subject 088125 made an observation that no others had. Community policing adds an intangible aspect that cannot be accurately measured, the feeling of safety. This intangible aspect as it relates to tangibles is explained in our exchange:

Interviewer: Do you think your program enhances neighborhood revitalization?

088125: The police department's program, absolutely. There's without a question that the community policing efforts, the programs, the units all make a significant difference in the quality of the lives for the citizens in the city of Des Moines. Now, I say that, and some things you can measure and some things you cannot measure. I believe that the unmeasurable aspects of community policing far outweigh the measurable.

Interviewer: Do you think those unmeasurables are reflected in things like the citizen satisfaction surveys? Because how you say – are you satisfied or not, like you said? It's really unmeasurable when you get down to it.

088125: I think what's measurable is has crime gone down in your neighborhood. Is there less abandoned cars in your neighborhood? Is there less abandoned houses in your neighborhood? I think one of the biggest non-measurables will be do you feel more safe, and I think in our efforts, I think if you – and I don't know the specific studies with this is I think in recent times, if you were to ask citizens in those neighborhoods do you feel more safe, if you take that poll now as opposed to 20 years ago, I think the answer would be yes, overwhelmingly yes that they do. And I think it's directly as a result of the police department's community policing programs.

Citizen involvement drives the needs-based review process. Once the citizenry was given a framework to voice their concerns, the byproduct was a transformation in thinking by city officials about both revitalization and community policing. Subject 340000 recounts how this realization occurred:

The citizens have to tell us, "This is what we want revitalized," you know? When community policing first started in the '80s we used to go out to these meetings and we'd meet with the neighbors and we'd say, "Well, we know you're concerned about the graffiti and Dirty Johnny, he lives over there in that house and we'll try and take care of that" and they'd go, "Well, yeah, we are concerned about that but can you put more lighting up and fix the potholes and do something about that alley that everybody drives up and down, is there something you can do about policing that?" So we've kind of transitioned between government going out and telling people, "This is what you ought to be concerned with," with listening to 'em and saying, "They're not really concerned with what we think they're concerned about at all." (340000, 2013)

Furthermore, both the historical review and human subject research points out that the citizen involvement can be almost entirely credited to the neighborhood revitalization

programs. Citizen involvement was an early goal of the revitalization programs, which at both major evolutions in each program's history, predated the community policing programs. First in the Model Cities era, the Comprehensive Neighborhood Patrol or "Foot Patrol" came as a result of concerns raised by the PSA boards. Secondly NBSD was formed on the heels of the neighborhood recognition process adapted from Stockard-Engler I.

Although A Municipal Approach was in place before Stockard-Engler, Subject 337450 stated that the Community Development department provided the police with the contacts in the neighborhoods with whom they should meet.

So I approached Bill Moulder, who was chief of police, and I said, "Let's do something different. Let's see if we can engage these people so that people can get their mind around that we're trying to do something different. Let's put a name on it." He said, "Yeah, go ahead." The name we came up with was Municipal Approach. I hadn't heard the word community policing or any of that stuff. We unveiled this plan whereby we would work with a group of people within a neighborhood, and we worked with community development to try to find out who were the people that they had worked with, what was the history. And at the same time, they came – community development folks came forward and said, "These are the people you can sit down with." (337450, 2013)

This framework of citizen involvement through recognized neighborhood organizations led both programs to begin considering their decisions based upon the individual needs of targeted areas. Because of this needs-based approach to targeted areas, planners are able to discern which neighborhoods they feel would benefit most from community policing efforts and police are able to decide which neighborhoods they feel would benefit most from it as well. Because the police department is the main source of interaction for the public with city government, the addition of community policing has enhanced the identification of needs in targeted areas.

Of course, citizen involvement is also one of the shortcomings of the needs-based approach to decision making as well. Subject 915453 points out that although there was a visible and outspoken element of citizen involvement, the groups weren't always truly representative of the neighborhood they represented.

...another frustration I had is that information came from the same group of core leaders because they were who was elected, but one of the problems with neighborhood organizations, they're only an inch deep and a mile wide. Okay? Like the Platt River in some ways. Okay? They don't penetrate. Most people don't want to be involved in them for lots of different reasons. A lot of people are in a survival mentality. They don't have time for an organization. A lot of them don't belong because they belong to a different culture and don't feel comfortable with them. Then there's always – there's a certain amount of people that don't want to belong just because they don't want to belong... (915453, 2013)

An example of this would be the city's priority snow removal program that was being implemented in order to enhance snow removal service around the city and enhance the efficiency of snow removal for cost-savings. The city allowed neighborhoods to sign up as "priority snow removal" neighborhoods that would give them earlier snow removal but also subjected them to a parking ordinance that would result in cars being ticketed and towed in neighborhoods that had been granted this designation. Historically there have always been designated snow routes in Des Moines, much like the rest of the country where snow removal is commonplace. Those usually consist of main thoroughfares and roads that are also state or US highways. This program expanded that priority status to residential streets. Once the first snowfall came that placed the ordinance in effect, the city was inundated with calls from angry citizens who received a fine or had their car towed; it was explained to these disgruntled citizens that their neighborhood organization had agreed to it. These decisions were made despite the fact that in many cases a neighborhood organization was speaking for many thousands of people who didn't know or care about their neighborhood

organization. This was the largest recent example of one of the possible shortcomings of relying on neighborhood organizations to conduct these needs-based reviews without exploring the true depth of citizen involvement.

Both programs create enhancement opportunities for the other

One of the key findings is that the collaboration between community policing and neighborhood revitalization can create a self-perpetuating feedback loop. When one program is successful, it creates an opportunity for the other program to build on that success. Not only does this have an effect programmatically, but as Subject 620060 points out, the programs also have an existential feedback loop:

You got to look at the societal impacts, right? You're trying to provide a livable environment for those people that are willing to take the risk of living in these areas, right? And you're trying to lift those areas up. And there are people out there that are willing to take that risk. And then there are people that go in and they just don't give a damn. And it's the people that care that are willing to take that risk, that are going to make the improvements to the neighborhood, that are going to take pride in the neighborhood, that are going to maintain their properties. Maintaining their properties is key for community like Des Moines, because of the net effects of spiraling property values. If they go down, our resources go down, we have fewer officers on the street, we have fewer resources to fix potholes. If our property values stay high, then we have more resources, we can have more officers, we can have more pothole fixers. (620060, 2013)

Here, 620060 explains that the societal impacts grow on each other, but the net effect results in better economic well-being for the city, which leads to an increase in resources and the possibility to affect even greater social change.

The addition of community policing to the framework of neighborhood revitalization is the key to these feedback loops. If each program is operated in the absence of the other,

the cycle is broken. As Subject 040334 asserts, neighborhood planning creates the framework for community policing to exist.

I think without the neighborhood planning program, I think community policing would've been very difficult because the neighborhood planning program created the framework of these neighborhoods they were designated. So, it was natural – I mean, if you had tried to establish community policing before 1990, you would've had three neighborhoods out there, and then otherwise just very, very minimal kinds of organization. So how would you do community policing if there weren't any neighborhood groups out there? The neighborhood planning program created the framework of designated neighborhoods that you could work with to actually establish a program (040334, 2013)

Subject 860860, also a planning official corroborates 040334's assessment.

I think the community policing program more enhances the neighborhood revitalization program. I strongly do. I think as far as our program helping it, I think it helps get that network with some of the neighborhoods to get them motivated and looking at goals for their neighborhood, so I think it gives it a little bit more of a structure to help enhance the communication that goes on between the neighborhood residents and the police. (860860, 2013)

By creating a framework within which to work, the neighborhood revitalization program has created an enhancement opportunity for the police. When NBSD was formed, there was a sense of enhanced service amongst the neighborhoods that were selected to receive police service. As the NBSD program was expanded into more neighborhoods, the neighborhood recognition process that was central to the revitalization program became the central facilitator for the police department to expand its community policing concept further than had ever been possible before. Because community policing has become a public relations boon and impacts citizen satisfaction, the enhancement opportunity provided to the community policing program is inarguably evident.

By far, the largest enhancement opportunity the community policing program affords the neighborhood revitalization program is the protection of investment by the

neighbors and the city in the revitalization effort. At the most basic level, safety is the biggest enhancement that community policing brings to neighborhood revitalization. Put plainly by subject 004125:

Whether – people are very honest to tell you whether they feel safe in their neighborhoods and what they want to see different from the police department. It doesn't matter how nice you make something. If it's not safe, it's not going to stay nice. People need to be able to take pride in their neighborhoods, and feeling safe is one of the most important things. Even the national ratings for Des Moines to being a great place to live, work, and raise your family, it's because they'll feel safe. If you can't do an adequate job of giving people that sense of security, you're not going to get those accolades....As money gets poured into a neighborhood to revitalize it, you have to be able to make sure that crime has been handled and quality of life issues are addressed on a daily basis. (004125, 2013)

004125 being a police official, demonstrates above the enhancement community policing provides neighborhood revitalization. But Subject 003275, also a command-level police official, completes the enhancement feedback loop by explaining his view on revitalization's role in enhancing community policing.

But if you can revitalize those areas, it just gives people a sense of pride, and they will – the majority of the people will have that sense of pride, and they'll be more – they'll have the desire, I believe, to deal with certain things instead of just shutting their doors or closing their curtains and ignoring the fact where in the previous years when I first came on in certain areas of the city, you know, it was just they weren't – people weren't going to get involved. You know, they shut their doors, and they're just going to let things happen however they happen. Now in some of these areas where we've seen some revitalization taking place, those areas are nothing like they used to be when I first came on. Part of that is because of the revitalization. I've seen brand new streets and curbs and new trees and areas cleaned up, and you don't see the graffiti and things like that. The neighborhood sees the value in that, and I think that they have a desire to keep it that way. I think once we've set the ball rolling with the revitalization program, it makes the crime prevention side of it much easier in reverse. (003275, 2013)

Subject 003275 also talks about the three components of crime and how police can take away one of the three.

...it takes three things to prevent crime. You've got the ability, the desire, and the opportunity. The ability – does that person have the ability to commit a crime? Does that person have the desire to commit a crime? And does that person have the opportunity to commit the crime? We can't control all three of those. That's like a stool. We can kick out one leg out of that three-legged stool, and we can maybe change the dynamics of the criminal activity in that area by taking out the opportunity... (003275, 2013)

It could be claimed that neighborhood revitalization addresses the two components of ability and desire. When 003275 spoke about citizen pride being increased by revitalization efforts, there is a degree of desire taken away by would-be criminals to commit crimes, especially of a destructive nature. Also, revitalization usually means the addition of modern lighting, building techniques, alarms, etc. that would hamper a criminal's ability to carry out crimes in an area. Also, desire and ability are also decreased when community pride is increased. When neighbors are active participants and users of the neighborhood space, the ability of strangers to enter the neighborhood unnoticed is diminished and the propensity to report suspicious activity will increase as well; concepts Jane Jacobs addressed in her defense of maintaining the health of the neighborhood unit. Jacobs gives anecdotal evidence in chapter 2 of *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) when relating a story about a resident that accosted her during an observation trip. The resident saw Jacobs sitting on a bus-stop on a Saturday and immediately became wary of Jacobs because the bus didn't run on Saturday in that area. In chapter six she talks extensively about the value of neighborhood relationships that are formed from common interests brought about by neighborhood association: PTA's, chambers of commerce, neighborhood associations, etc. What Jacobs addresses quite extensively over nearly six-hundred pages, Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls (1997) condense into a concise study of the theory of collective

efficacy. Collective efficacy is defined for their purposes as “...social cohesion among neighbors combined with their willingness to intervene on behalf of the common good...” (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997, p. 918) They posit that the willingness to intervene “...depends in large part on conditions of mutual trust and solidarity among neighbors (10). Indeed, one is unlikely to intervene in a neighborhood context in which the rules are unclear and people mistrust or fear one another.” (Sampson, Raudenbush, & Earls, 1997, p. 919)

The ability of both neighborhood revitalization and community policing programs to individually lend their support in creating and nurturing an environment where the relationships Jacobs describes can form the collective efficacy Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls describe. These relationships create an environment that takes away both criminal ability and desire by the willingness of residents to confront and the creation of an undesirable environment for a criminal to operate within.

Of course, the topic of enhancement opportunities would not be complete without a discussion of the failures to create further enhancement opportunities. As has been discussed before and will be discussed again in a following section, resources are constantly a struggle for both programs. However, there are other deficiencies that have arisen without the ability to blame the lack of resources. Subject 915435, a former senior planner, said:

...I think one of the worst – one of the saddest parts was I don’t think we did enough cross training with the police officers. I think there was lots and lots of ways that as a community, there’s organizations and agencies that can provide a service, and I think the assumption is the police officers know those things... (915453, 2013)

Every participant stated their only knowledge of the opposite program came through working knowledge. It became clear early on in the interview process that the only thing the planners knew about community policing was the structure of NBSD, and the only thing most officers knew about the revitalization process was code enforcement or infrastructure improvements. Subject 002900, a top-level police official said this about the lack of communication regarding the current Beaverdale revitalization efforts:

That's exactly what it is. Exactly what it is, lacking communication, because I didn't even know Beaverdale was going through a revitalization project until you just mentioned it. But that's something that's important. It's important to the neighborhood. It's important to the city. That's simply a lack of communication. (002900, 2013)

Concurrent with the lack of cross-program understanding, all the participants agreed that cross-training would be beneficial, especially to employees new to the program. For example, an officer who is assigned to NBSD for the first time receives some sort of orientation on neighborhood revitalization, and vice-versa for incoming planning staff.

Subject 915435 lamented that "...one of the greatest frustration is that nobody – there was never a chief of the program." (915453, 2013) Although the two programs work side by side and create these highly beneficial enhancement opportunities for each other toward a common community betterment goal theoretically, the programs are still administered independently by their respective department directors and administrations. Again, Subject 915453:

Theoretically, yes....Because I don't think structurally – the bottom line, structurally, something has changed. The structure of city government, if I go to the org charts of the departments, I would think the only person in charge of both would be the city manager, and in the city manager's office, there's no one that brings together both departments under one org chart. So they don't – I mean the concepts share much, but structurally, the city has not organized them to maximize them. (915453, 2013)

Although it may be impossible to structure an organizational chart that steers staff away from their assigned department, both programs need a cohesive champion that recognizes this common goal. Stockard-Engler I made that clear and for a time, the city had that champion in Eric Anderson.

Both programs have become institutionalized at the employee and citizen level and are now the status quo

As Des Moines' community policing and neighborhood revitalization programs evolved, they have each gone through several iterations. The current iteration of neighborhood revitalization has been in place for more than twenty years upon the recommendation of Stockard-Engler I. Although it has been refined, expanded, and improved upon, the foundation has remained solid for two decades. Community policing in the framework of NBSD is now fourteen years old and shows no signs of waning. The discussion of this theme as it relates to the research question is why have these programs become the status quo, and is it representative of success or stubbornness? I submit that it is representative of success and an embrace by the citizenry. Subject 535780 explains:

Yeah, I mean they're all – the programs are institutionalized, you know? The neighborhoods love the idea of the neighborhood planning process. They love the idea of their neighborhood police officer and, again, I use those quotations. I put quotations around it because in neighborhood residents' minds they have a police officer of their own and they believe and I think a lot of the *[laughter]* NBSD officers – I'm sure you'll talk to them, too but – they get calls I'm sure all hours of the day and night from their neighborhood people because they're that neighborhood's officer... (535780, 2013)

It has become clear that citizens expect this level of customer service from the city. Several participants spoke about the idea that no longer would an employee tell a citizen that they couldn't handle a problem because that isn't their department; rather employees now act

as a liaison to any and all departments upon citizen contact. Again, Subject 535780 provides an example:

...when I'm out at a meeting, I'm that City of Des Moines person and to the mind of a neighborhood person, if they come and ask me about a trash issue, you know, and I *[laughter]* tell 'em, "Well, sorry, that's really – you need to call Public Works or you need to call Engineering, you know? Oh, it's a sidewalk issue, I can't handle that, sorry." As you're out and you're dealing with the public, they don't care, they see you as a representative of the City of Des Moines, regardless of where you are in the city... (535780, 2013)

Because this level of service has been provided for so long and with such great success, it has become institutionalized at the citizen level. As a result of this high level of citizen expectation, the institutionalization at the city level may never be allowed to wane due to the political pushback that would result from the community. The empowerment of the neighborhoods has increased their political clout to such a level that Subject 340000 claims the citizen involvement now starts at the city council level:

I think we work together really well and that's simply because the approach of citizen involvement starts at the council level, at the mayor and the council level. All of them want to know, "Okay, have you talked to the neighborhood associations?" For instance if someone comes in and they wanna – if they wanna – transform a piece of property, we just had one up on Kingman Boulevard that was – it's a community center. It's called the Thoreau Center....so we're asked to do things and interact in areas that 20, 30 years ago, we weren't asked those kinds of things, we weren't asked, "What do you think about the Thoreau Center, what do you think about this house, how are you gonna deal with that high level of traffic around Drake Park in this one house, and we think there's prostitutes that work the streets when the guys come up and park along this?" Those are things that we're being asked to be at the table at early on that – and that's because of the community-policing approach. (340000, 2013)

As 340000 points out, this level of service and degree of institutionalization has resulted in a level of citizen involvement that was nonexistent decades ago and now results in police involvement in decision making where there wasn't before.

Of course, just like the other themes, institutionalization has its pitfalls as well. One of those pitfalls is that by and large “What started as a, I think the concept was a revitalization team, [NBSD] has been scaled back to more of a community policing/zoning enforcement project, if you will.” (002900, 2013) One of the major strengths of NBSD was to break down the “silos” that existed between departments and programs. It appears once again, that community policing and neighborhood revitalization have become separated once again and work together on an as-needed basis. When Subject 002900 (2013) was asked if the programs operate independently, 002900 responded “In our city, I think they do. I don’t think it’s by design. I think it’s by default, to be honest.” Subject 004125 (2013) explains that over the years, the other departments retreated from daily involvement in NBSD and left police and zoning to those daily responses.

I think from a police standpoint, I think there’s a need for us to be responsive on a daily basis from – and from our zoning officers. I think that we’ve morphed into those two being there every day because that’s what was found to be needed. I don’t think you need more than that available every day. You just have to be available to assist with the issues that are brought up. (004125, 2013)

Although separated, the programs are not severed. The collaboration exists and the institutionalized collaboration persists, but the fervor that accompanied the early years of the program seems to have tempered.

The fact that the programs have become status quo means they have been given the opportunity to slip. “Now we’re at this point where it’s institutionalized, it’s status quo, it’s starting to wane a little bit.” (337450, 2013) Without the vigorous level of executive buy-in that was seen at the programs’ inception, the institutionalization insures the programs will continue, but at a reduced level of service compared to the years of peak supervision.

Subject 038000 is a command-level police official at an agency outside Des Moines and had this observation about their department:

...a lot of it has to do with your command, too. When COP came or the revitalization or however you want to look at it, when it came to play, we had a chief that was brand new, and he pushed it and pushed it and pushed it. So as a patrol officer, you knew exactly what was expected of you and what to do. Well then he laid off of it, and then we had a lot of new officers coming in, and it's not something that's taught right now. (038000, 2013)

Subject 337450 has a similar observation as to why NBSD was successful during this subject's tenure as a command-level police official:

Well, because I bought into it, I believed in it, and I didn't play games with it. I gave it a full support, and I knew in my heart that it was close to what we ought to be doing in terms of providing a police service to the citizens of Des Moines. (337450, 2013)

Subject 060000, when asked if they saw the relationship between the programs continuing, replied yes, but speaks to the shift from a program model to a service delivery model:

Yes, I think it'll be challenged. If funding continues to be a problem, it'll be more and more of a challenge, but it's been going now for, gosh, I bet about 20 years with this program that started with the Stockard Engler look at things. And that's a long time. I think it's become institutionalized. We don't have to have the monthly meetings to make people call and talk to each other like we used to. Yeah, I think it's become less of a program trying to push something and more just the way we do business. (060000, 2013)

Outside the purview of this study is answering the question of what needs to happen with Des Moines' programs to restore the vitality of the past. However, Subject 337450 offers his opinion on what is needed to affect the restoration:

There's a stagnation because there's not a push. You've got to have the push. In the past, the Civil Rights Movement was a push, a violent push. The two succeeding drug wars, if you will, the federal government termed them that, we didn't, struggled, were pushes. Crime was a push at one time associated with drugs, primarily. There was unrest. You've got to have those social upheavals in order to get government to respond because if left unchecked or left to themselves, they will divert their attention towards the businesses that want to do something

downtown or here or there, the back scratching stuff, play to the power. (337450, 2013)

Des Moines was an early and continuous practitioner of both programs

As this study was conducted, certain themes were more emergent than others and held a greater percentage of the volume of codes identified. However, one theme that emerged on a small scale yet was undeniable to me was the idea that Des Moines is not only unmatched as an early practitioner of both community policing and neighborhood revitalization, but this author finds Des Moines is also unmatched in its continuity of both services by any other municipality nationwide.

This theme relates to the research question in a way that makes it analogous to a keystone in terms of its relative size to overall importance. Because Des Moines identified the importance of both programs early on, and subsequently recognized the importance of them working in concert with each other, the current state of Des Moines' neighborhood programs and the numerous examples of successful revitalization verifies the beneficial nature of their collaboration.

Both Subject 002900 and 088125 described Des Moines community policing program as the benchmark amongst police departments nationally. Subject 337450 stated that at the time of the conception of the "Municipal Approach" the subject stated "I hadn't heard the word community policing or any of that stuff." (337450, 2013) Certainly at the time of the Comprehensive Neighborhood Patrol program (Foot Patrol), Community Policing was yet to be popularly identified as a policing concept or philosophy.

As has been shown in Chapter 4, Des Moines is among a handful of cities that were original enrollees in Model Cities that have participated in the Model Cities/CDBG process continually since 1967. As a testament to Des Moines' success, Des Moines has successfully leveraged CDBG funds to facilitate their own model of neighborhood revitalization without the need for a government model or imposition.

By periodically addressing shortcomings in their programs and revamping the programs as needs changed and policy became better informed, Des Moines has become a model of best practices in their respective programs as well as a model for program collaboration.

Creating the best Government/Citizen relationship is a common goal of both programs

Although both programs have a shared ultimate goal of community improvement, that theme was not found to emerge from the data analysis for two reasons. First, it is too broad; second, it is implicit. Rather, in analyzing the data, a theme that identified a common goal that facilitated the broader goal of community improvement emerged. That emergent theme was the focus both programs had on creating meaningful, productive citizen/government relations as the best means to achieving the end goal. With respect to how this theme informs the research question, this common goal not only facilitates the individual program goals, but it facilitates the collaboration as well.

Subject 060000 gives the example that the improved relationships facilitate tough political decisions such as property tax increases; an action that has implications for both programs. "And its simple things, but it makes a ton of difference. I think people are willing

to pay more taxes when they get good service like that. That's been shown. We raised taxes last year in a year that was hard to raise taxes." (060000, 2013) Subject 038000 explains the ability of community policing's relationship-building to facilitate the program goal as well as collaboration within city government.

It develops that partnership that we never had with the community. You know, the police versus everybody else, and we not only work with the businesses within our community, but we work with every agency within the city, whether it's public works or human resources or community development, whatnot. (038000, 2013)

Subject 340000 gives an example of how the relationship building that was created with both programs facilitates discussion on difficult issues. The example 340000 gives is the way the department approached the contentious issue of red-light cameras through neighborhood meetings and citizen involvement:

Well, I'm in contact with the neighborhood leaders. We organize a fall forum. In fact we'll be doing that here probably, oh, first part of November, last part of October and it is very popular with the neighborhoods. We start early in the morning. We pick several topics that we talk about and that we present. For instance before we incorporated the red-light cameras, we presented that to this neighborhood forum and floated the balloon because I was not gonna do something that the neighborhoods did not support and we floated it out there. Nobody opposed it and we kinda stood up there as a staff and we said, "Come on there's like 85 people here, none of you have any reservations about these," and they said, "No, I need 'em in my neighborhood, you know? I want 'em in my neighborhood because traffic is a big deal to people that live in Des Moines....so we floated that out there as a neighborhood in that forum. We did our research for a year....We came back the next year and we said, "Okay, we're gonna present this to the city, the City Council. We asked you last year. Got some new faces here, what do you all think a year later because there's just more information out, too, about red-light cameras, in general, across the country?" Same thing, same thing, and I thought, "Okay, I'm gonna go forward, people," and you know what they said? They said that they would sign a letter saying they supported these cameras so I submitted at this workshop. It was an informational workshop to the council. We submitted all these letters and so the council looked at 'em and said, "Wow, okay, you got the neighborhoods behind you." (340000, 2013)

As stated earlier in the study, Des Moines' neighborhood revitalization program created the framework within which the community policing efforts could flourish. Once those relationship goals were met and the rapport established, the ability to have meaningful discussion about contentious issues becomes possible. Much like the enhancement opportunities that create self-sustaining feedback loops, the relationship building between the programs does as well. Subject 084280, a senior planner who was involved in the earliest stages of the approach to revitalization Stockard-Engler suggested, says the communication and relationship building gave the citizens a meaningful connection to the city.

And boy, that was – they loved that, you know. It's like that was one of the perks about doing a neighborhood plan, is that they would also be part of the neighborhood-based service delivery program and they would have their guy, you know, and he'd pass out the cards and, you know, they all thought, you know, this is great. So they felt like they had a direct connection to a city service that was meaningful. (084280, 2013)

Subject 004125, a top-level police official stated community relationships are the core definition of community policing. "In my opinion, what I think of community policing is working with the community to address the issues, having open dialogue, building a trust with the community through that open dialogue." (004125, 2013)

Creating the best government/citizen relationships was also a theme of the historical data. As illustrated in Chapter 4, the 1967 Task Force Report: The Police was devoted to the idea that police-community



Figure 20 - Des Moines police station bombing May 13, 1970 (DMPBA, 1999)

relations had to be improved to create a policing environment free from the unrest seen in the middle of the century. Des Moines was not immune to this unrest, having been the scene of two bombings and a failed Improvised Explosive Device attack in the spring and summer of 1970 by the local chapter of the Black Panthers; one at the police station shown in figure 20. When a comparison is made between police-community relations then and now, it is remarkable how far Des Moines has traveled in government/citizen relations.

Resource allocation versus goals is a factor for both programs

Resource allocation relative to program goals is an important consideration when attempting to answer the research question. The research question being asked, “Has the addition of community policing in neighborhoods targeted for revitalization enhanced the community revitalization process” implies that the programs are functionally separate. Some of the findings in this study center on the commonality between the two programs. However, neighborhood revitalization and community policing are still two very different

means to an end. Therefore, the issue of resource allocation must be addressed in order to establish whether Des Moines is doing the most efficient job possible of managing its limited resources in the pursuit of an overall revitalization goal.

In Chapter 4, Subject 084280 was cited as pointing out that the programs sometimes have different priorities. At the end of the day, the police have their public safety mission, and community development has their neighborhood revitalization mission. Therefore, there isn't always the ability to partner the programs at the same time based on resources, needs, and in some cases politics. If a neighborhood is designated transitional/negative, community development may see an immediate need to institute a neighborhood plan in order to stave off that neighborhood falling into the distressed category. However, the transitional negative status may not be the result of high crime and therefore the police will not see it as a priority for focused community policing resource allocation. Conversely, the police department may see a neighborhood that has a stable status as having a potential for crime to increase once the vacuum is created by the absence of a focused community police effort.

Subject 535780 says the difference between community policing and neighborhood revitalization is the difference in the term of investment. 535780 sees community policing as the short-term solution, but the long-term investment lies in the revitalization efforts.

I think you can do the NBSD program without the Planning component in the short-run but I think to make long-term improvements in neighborhoods, we kinda have to have that unified effort that really does require that Planning component in the short-run but I think to make long-term improvements in neighborhoods, we kinda have to have that unified effort that really does require that Planning component and kinda say, "Okay, what do we wanna do here in the long-run, how do we wanna address the housing stock and some of the other issues" (535780, 2013)

However, the opposite argument can be made on the police side. As stated above, some neighborhoods may be stable and have completed the revitalization process. One of those neighborhoods is River Bend, which has had a community policing officer assigned to it since the inception of NBSD, regardless of the state of revitalization plans in the neighborhood. On that topic, Subject 002900 states community policing can't stop in those areas when the revitalization effort is over.

Obviously, the community policing efforts still need to continue, especially in an area like River Bend. If you look at our neighborhoods, our neighborhood associations and how they're laid out, our NBSD officers have more than one neighborhood assigned to them. So there's always going to be that next neighborhood. So once the city classifies a neighborhood as stable, it doesn't end there. We're still going to have a presence in there. Most of our neighborhoods are assigned based on – it's not just who wants a neighborhood officer. It's who needs a neighborhood officer. Crime dictates a lot of that. Zoning issues dictate a lot of that, but our officers are assigned to more than one neighborhood. (002900, 2013)

Subject 860860 points out that when the community policing component of NBSD was introduced, neighborhoods began to be selected separate from the neighborhood revitalization selection process. "They're very similar, but it didn't match up with where the neighborhood revitalization program was going as far as selecting neighborhoods. They were kind of selected outside of that process." (860860, 2013)

Of course, resource allocation is also an opportunity for the programs to drift apart and lose effectiveness. When asked if the collaboration between the two programs is necessary, Subject 060000 said yes, but "I think sometimes they drift apart....That's why I think it's important that we keep that neighborhood service delivery banner because it keeps it under one roof. It's not under one roof, but under one purpose going the same

way.” (060000, 2013) Simply put by Subject 003275 “...in my experiences, we probably don’t sit at the table as much as we should together.” (003275, 2013)

Despite several participants saying there has been a lack of communication that has resulted in a sometimes less-than-optimal allocation of resources, overall it appears Des Moines’ neighborhood revitalization and community policing programs recognize when shortfalls are occurring and make strides to rectify them. Furthermore, it appears that the resource allocations are made with measured thought and attention to the specific needs of an area relative to the specific capabilities of the respective programs.

Conclusion

The strength of the neighborhood approach in Des Moines lies in its flexibility and the understanding that each area should be focused on based on the unique needs of that area. By listening to the needs of the community members in their self-defined communities, the city has been able to move away from needs dictation and problem solving from the outsiders perspective, to a community embraced process which focuses on the issues prioritized and defined by the citizens.

The ability of the neighborhood revitalization program to create a framework within which the police could implement an enhanced community policing program has created a self-perpetuating feedback loop for both programs that enhances one-another’s goals. This constant state of collaborative achievement has solidified citizen relationships, enhanced community satisfaction, and created dialogue for the necessary reforms and improvements to each program. Furthermore, the mutual successes have allowed the citizens to stress the

importance of these programs through tough budget times that have insured continuity of the programs for both citizens and employees alike.

As a result of the level of satisfaction gained through the needs-based administration of the program and the mutual enhancement, both programs have achieved an almost-permanent status with the city. Although suffering at times, neither program has suffered complete or even large cuts as a result of the success. This level of institutionalization is now beyond the memory of any current employee, a testament to the long running successes of both programs.

By “getting into the game” early on both fronts, Des Moines was able to implement reforms and improvements to its programs throughout the years that allowed the programs to continue while providing citizens a level of satisfaction that demonstrated a need for the continuance of the programs. The unbroken programming has presumably helped reform efforts because at no one time was Des Moines ever forced to start over. A strong baseline for each program helped establish incremental improvements and reforms that led to a program that is embraced by the citizenry and employees and is exemplary for other municipalities.

All of these programmatic successes would be impossible in the absence of good government/citizen relations. By emphasizing the importance of community relations in both programs, lasting and meaningful relationships were built that fostered healthy citizen involvement and empowerment.

As with any city planning initiative, the pragmatic approach dictates that not everything will be allocated the full set of resources desired; despite budget cuts, economic ebb and flow, both programs have survived for nearly half a century based partly upon effective resource allocation. By recognizing the needs of different communities and placing resources where the most good would be done, Des Moines not only insured the continuance of its programs, but maximized the effect of the available resources. Without a pragmatic approach, neither program would conceivably have survived given the economic ills suffered throughout their tenure.

Taken as a whole, it is clear Des Moines has effectively created an example of both neighborhood revitalization implementation, community policing implementation, and collaboration of both programs for mutual gain.

CHAPTER VII. CONCLUSION

The research indicates strongly that the planning and police policy makers in Des Moines believe the addition of community policing to areas targeted for neighborhood revitalization enhances the overall revitalization process. Community policing and neighborhood revitalization are still concepts that lack a concrete, academic definition. Neither concept can be condensed into a pamphlet or manual and distributed for the consumption of those who wish to begin or improve their own program. Rather, both concepts retain a core concept but implementation remains left to the end-user to decide how best to fit the concept within the framework of their community. After reviewing the literature and conducting this research, the concepts of community policing and

neighborhood revitalization are regarded in a way that is analogous to the work of Ghanaian artist El Anatsui and the installation pieces of his “Gravity and Grace” collection. For that collection, Anatsui crafted huge sheets out of recycled materials such as bottle caps, milk can lids, etc., and connects this with wire such that the sheets lack rigidity and will take form of whatever they hang or drape upon, just like a blanket. Furthermore, Anatsui gives the museums full control over how they choose to display the sheets. For instance, one museum may hang the blanket of milk-can lids from a wall with relief behind it; another may place objects on the floor and drape the same milk-can lid blanket over them to give the appearance of a landscape. Because of this, a visitor may see the “Gravity and Grace” exhibit at several different museums and never see it displayed the same way twice. More importantly though, every time that visitor sees the sculpture displayed a different way, the core message of Anatsui’s artwork is retained. This is how I see community policing and neighborhood revitalization shared across communities. The same core principles are retained, yet the concept is applied, or “draped over” to the community *in situ*.

Using this analogy, a case study of Des Moines’ application of neighborhood revitalization and community policing should be interpreted the same way. While the findings support a conclusion and Des Moines’ practices can be emulated, they should be viewed as Anatsui’s artwork; the concepts, practices, and lessons can be lifted from the community but will not lie the exactly the same anywhere else.

It is hoped that this research has made that blanket of items that future researchers or communities can lift from Des Moines' contours and lay over their own. Also, the recognition that the blanket might not be big enough, may be missing pieces, or may be too big and include too much will inform future researchers and policymakers as well. However, Des Moines' blanket is woven of several layers and years of experience and lessons learned. Therefore, it is believed this research will be powerfully informative to those who would study community policing, neighborhood revitalization, citizen/government relations, and most importantly, the interaction of all three in the pursuit of a common goal.

Review of Research Goals

At the beginning of this paper, three research goals were identified:

1. To flesh out whether community policing and neighborhood revitalization had been intentional partners
2. Whether community policing and neighborhood revitalization shared a common goal formally or informally
3. Whether or not the collusion of community policing and neighborhood revitalization was valuable to the overall revitalization goal

In the beginning, community policing and neighborhood revitalization were intentional partners. The Neighborhood Patrol Program or "Foot Patrol" was designed to augment the revitalization efforts already in place in the designated revitalization areas that came from the Model Cities revitalization efforts. As illustrated in the research, the community policing programs were even paid for with revitalization money for a good majority of their existence. It is clear that the relationship started to wane mainly due to changes in budgets and enforcement priorities. Although the separation was clearer in the mid-1980's to late 1990's, the partnership has started to reestablish itself. However, the

participants of this study indicate that the partnership, however renewed, is now observable but unintentional.

Neighborhood revitalization and Community Policing have shared a common goal conceptually and therefore informally. Neither this paper nor any of the research done in its composition has unearthed an example of practitioners identifying the common goal and building a framework that uses the greatest strength of each concept in reaching that goal. NBSD and similar programs nationally may be the closest programs to achieve working toward a common goal in practice. When NBSD was formulated in Des Moines, the police were integrated as part of a service delivery mechanism. Whether or not the Des Moines Police Department had already begun community policing type work or not, they would have been integrated into the NBSD network. Furthermore, while the DMPD was doing community policing work at the inception of NBSD, it was not so formally focused on neighborhoods; rather it was focused on neighborhoods that could identify specific problems. The true test of goal sharing will be when leadership on both the revitalization side and the police side recognize a common goal and make formal inroads to stating those goals and working toward them. In Des Moines this research has shown that the programs have shared goals informally.

The collusion of Neighborhood Revitalization and Community Policing in Des Moines has been unequivocally valuable to the overall revitalization goal. Once again, the early addition of community policing to the Prime Service Target Areas through the foot patrol program arose out of a stated need by the citizens that enhanced police service was

necessary to achieve the stated revitalization goals. Not only was this research goal realized, but as has been stated numerous times, the additional benefit of reciprocal value adding was realized as well.

Review of Findings

Six individual themes emerged from the analysis of the research. First, decisions are made based on a needs-focused review of targeted areas. The evolution of Des Moines' neighborhood revitalization efforts and their persistence in evaluating and improving their approach led to a framework that was ultimately embraced by nearly the entire city. This framework allows for a targeted approach by identifying unique target areas that retain unique community values that are self-defined. Because the target areas are self-defined and agreed upon, the city is able to respond to those areas based on an accurate needs assessment that is informed by the citizenry. This leads to reduced conflict, enhanced trust in government, and a much greater sense of satisfaction with government.

Second, both programs create enhancement opportunities for the other through collaboration, but also through their independent work. As Subject 088125 says, the community policing officers "...can address what they need to do on their own on a daily basis....However, in order to reach that final goal of revitalization, getting them out of that designation, you have to be able to work together..." (088125, 2013) This process of building strength through collaboration and working toward a common goal yields a feedback loop that creates an overall enhancement of the revitalization process. Furthermore, recognition of the enhancement opportunity cycle within the organizations

will not only strengthen outcomes, but is also an important part of the self-review process that the programs have undertaken throughout the years. When collaboration or loss of goal vision occurs in one or both arenas, the negative effects can be mitigated before real loss of program effectiveness occurs.

Third, that both programs have become institutionalized at the employee and citizen level and are now the status quo is vitally important. Although it was pointed out in chapter 5 that programs becoming institutionalized and status quo may lead to stagnation, institutionalization is vitally important because it insures program survival. Some participants spoke about the importance of executive buy-in, employee buy-in, or citizen buy-in. What was found in the research is that Des Moines has now achieved all three. Subject 915435 lamented that there was never a “chief of the program” that had organizational authority of the combined programs. While this is a valid concern, it also insulates the programs by not allowing the failure of executive buy-in at one level to affect the entire program. If the city manager, who is the *de facto* head of all the programs doesn’t have the same level of buy-in as past or future managers, retention of executive buy-in at the department director level insures the programs will remain in place. Following that concept down the line, institutionalization from the top-down means waning buy-in within department leadership also won’t affect the entire program. Finally, institutionalization amongst employees and citizens means the expectation of a certain level of service by citizens will be met regardless of who the citizen interacts with, from line-level employee to department director.

Fourth, that Des Moines was an early and continuous practitioner of both programs leads to the conclusion that the addition of community policing enhanced the revitalization goal. Although the programs were reviewed, revamped, victims of budget woes and politics, they have soldiered on in one form or another for nearly half a century. This speaks to the power of the programs and how they fit into the political process in Des Moines. Because of their success individually and as collaborators, it is clear that the enhancement was overly valuable to the citizenry. This latest addition of community policing to the revitalization effort, Neighborhood Based Service Delivery, has now been in place longer than the other previous community policing efforts. This not only reinforces the addition of community policing as beneficial to the revitalization process, but also reinforces the success of the current model.

Fifth, that creating the best government/citizen relationship is a common goal of both programs shows the value in collaboration of the programs and demonstrates why they are a natural fit for each other in the revitalization process. While one could argue that every city department's goal is community betterment, community policing and neighborhood revitalization are the two programs that best facilitate targeted enhancement and revitalization. While each program has certain physical capabilities to affect change, i.e. police can enforce the law, arrest people, write citations, etc. and planners do analysis, write neighborhood plans, administer funding, etc.; the real value to the citizenry lies in the relationships that are built that allow the neighborhood planners and community police officers to facilitate physical change. These strong relationships work

their way into bolstering other themes such as institutionalization and the creation of enhancement opportunities.

Sixth, that resource allocation is a factor for both programs is important to the understanding how the application of community policing can best enhance the revitalization effort. As illustrated in the findings and discussion, the level of community policing varies from targeted area to targeted area based on the needs of the neighborhood. Once again, the integration of themes is present because resource allocation decision making is based on the needs-based review of the targeted areas. Because both neighborhood revitalization and community policing are both labor-intensive programs, they will always represent a significant monetary outlay for municipalities. Therefore, the allocation of those expensive yet valuable resources will always be a factor in the decision to implement one or both of the programs. Furthermore, although it is believed the case study of Des Moines demonstrates that the addition of community policing enhances neighborhood revitalization, there will always be a need to focus community policing in areas that aren't in a revitalization plan based on the specific needs of that area. This may be seen as a detriment to targeted areas that are going through a revitalization process by denying them the addition of community policing, but the cost/benefit ratio to the well-being of the city as a whole and the needs of one targeted area over another must be weighed in order to most efficiently allocate resources.

Lastly, during a review of the findings, different participants gave codes that were analogous to a three-way stool. In the "Decisions are made based on a needs-focused

review of targeted areas” theme, Subject 535780 said “...when you look at neighborhood issues, you know, safety, schools, housing, you know, I mean are really the Big 3.” (535780, 2013) In the “Both programs create enhancement opportunities for the other” theme, Subject 003275 was quoted speaking about the three-legged stool of crime and how if community policing can control just one leg, the stool will collapse. In the same theme, Subject 040334 relates his opinion that revitalization is only successful with the involvement of the community, the government, and private lending institutions, “Any two of the groups without the third will not work as far as the neighborhood revitalization strategy.” (040334, 2013) Finally, Subject 535780 referred to a triangle of planning that includes police, code enforcement, and planning: “...and in my kind of triangle of revitalization I see Planning and the police and the Code Enforcement as some of the key pillars of the triangle.” (535780, 2013) Exclusive of the themes, there were codes for executive buy-in, employee buy-in, and citizen buy-in. This is another three-legged stool of both neighborhood revitalization programs and community policing programs individually.

This theme-within-themes of a three-legged stool as a metaphor for the stability of relationships with the programs led me to derive one comprehensive finding from the six identified themes: Successful neighborhood revitalization is its own three-legged stool with the community, community policing, and neighborhood revitalization planning as its three legs. However, unlike 003275’s three-legged stool of crime, removal of one of the legs won’t necessarily cause a collapse, but will greatly affect stability. In Des Moines, the research brings me to conclude that all three are strongly in place and have affected tremendous

positive change to this point in history and continued effort at the same level will allow future change and stability for Des Moines.

These findings also make a compelling case for the continuation of research and the production of literature on the collaboration of community policing programs and neighborhood revitalization. As stated before, literature abounds on both community policing and neighborhood revitalization. Also, each field has produced case studies. This study takes a new tack by not only exploring the convergence of the programs, but their convergence contextualized in the framework of a documented long-running effort at both programs and their work alongside each other. By attempting to answer the research question using the example of Des Moines, the same research question can be applied to other cities that have similar combined programs as well as cities that have an absence of either, providing a counterpoint to the example of Des Moines or bolstering the perceived need to operate as Des Moines has. This study will inform literature on both planning and policing and will serve to further improve or reform programs in Des Moines and around the country.

Future Research

Clearly, the concepts of community policing and neighborhood revitalization are still yet to reach full maturity. There is much more history to neighborhood revitalization, but its evolution includes periods of revitalization policy that many have concluded were not best or fair practices. As Subject 040334 said about the original urban renewal, “We’re gonna force all the property owners to sell, and then we’re gonna move all the people out of

there. We're gonna replace it – the textbooks on urban renewal called it 'negro removal'."

(040334, 2013) Metzger (2000) speaks unflatteringly about the neighborhood life-cycle theory and its role in national urban policy in the early-to mid-20th century. Because neighborhood revitalization is just now coming into best practices that are agreed upon, there isn't sufficient history to accurately review the benefit from those practices.

Community policing is in the same boat. Community policing is still considered a fad by some despite reaching its current level of popularity as a recognized best practice in law enforcement. Because these two concepts lack maturity, there is future research to be done on them individually.

Although there are now municipalities that have combined the programs as Des Moines has done, case studies have not been conducted of their interaction. Future case study research of programs similar to Des Moines are warranted in order to inform the greater question of whether or not the addition of community policing to neighborhood revitalization can be proven beneficial as a practice, not just in isolated cases.

Questions not asked in this study that would be beneficial in future studies, specifically, are pointed questions about whether or not the programs were operating successfully and how success is defined. A deeper exploration of the lack of cross-training and whether it would prove beneficial is warranted. During this study it became glaringly apparent that each side had only a cursory knowledge of the actual operation and goals of the other, at least at the supervisory level, in which the great majority of the participants had spent their careers. However, it may be that the line-level workers enjoy a greater level

of understanding as a result of their more frequent day-to-day interaction and actual on-site collaboration.

Another area where future research would be informative is to try to answer the same research question with an entirely different perspective on the part of the participants. As stated above, the overwhelming majority of this study's participants were at a supervisory or executive level and had spent the bulk of their career at that level. Future research should take on the same research with citizen participants, line-level workers, or a combination thereof. Furthermore, a contrast may be drawn in the perceptions of so-called "average citizens" and those who are actively involved in their neighborhood organizations.

This study was qualitative but there are opportunities to tackle the same research question through a quantitative study. There is a challenge in the procurement of data, but the ability to compare qualitative and quantitative data brings a whole new dimension to research on policies and programs that have social factors and social implications. This type of data comparison between perception and measurable reality is often done in both planning and policing and this research would benefit from the same comparison.

This study opens a new pathway into the study of both planning and policing and hopefully a realization that policing can be a planning consideration and that planning can be a policing consideration.

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